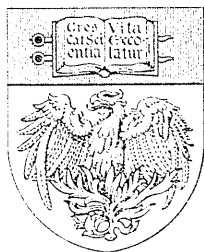


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# PRESENT ISSUES;

OR,

FACTS OBSERVABLE

IN THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE AGE.

BY

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PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH-DIOCESE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, U. S.,

AUTHOR OF "WHAT IS RELIGION."

"When it is evening, ye say, it will be fair weather: for the sky is red. And in the morning, it will be foul weather to-day: for the sky is red and lowering. O ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky; but can ye not discern the signs of the times?"



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## INTRODUCTION.

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**T**HERE are many fields upon which the thinker may direct his powers of observation. If in thoughtfulness he turn his observation towards the heavenly bodies, he is an astronomer. If he look at nature and reflect upon what he observes there, he is a scientist, or perhaps an artist. If he look at God, he becomes a theologian. If he observe himself, looking inwards, examining the facts of his own consciousness, he is a psychologist, a moralist, or a metaphysician. A psychologist, if he confine his attention to operations within; a moralist, if he observe and reflect upon the facts connected with conscience; a metaphysician, if he occupy himself in reflecting upon those ideas and abstractions, which, in introspection, he comes in contact with. But besides all these fields of observation there is yet another, and just as real as any of the preceding. Society, as a whole, is as truly an existence, a reality, as is the individual man. The broadest view that can be taken of society, is to contemplate it as co-equal and co-extensive with the race. The human race, as a whole, is a unit; just as much so as is the individual man. It is an organism, as much so as is the plant, the animal, or the individual personal man. All the individuals are the members of one common body; all taken together are necessary in order to complete the whole. There are various orders of intelligent existence, each of them apparently constituted differently. First, there is

God; the Godhead, the highest and only necessary order of existence. In the unity of this Godhead there are three persons, each of them infinite and perfect, associated and essentially connected together in an incomprehensible necessary manner; the three together constituting the unity of that supreme order of existence, termed the Godhead. The tri-personality of the Godhead is a philosophic necessity; we can somewhat perceive this; but it is, in its full comprehension, beyond the powers of our imagination and reason.

The next order of intelligent existence of which we are cognizant, is the angelic. This order of existence is not necessary, but created. It, from all that we can learn, appears to consist, of an innumerable number of separate personal intelligences; each one of them being a distinct separate existence, not deriving its being and nature from another, its ancestor, as in the case of the human. All the separate individual angels taken together constitute the unity of what is the second sphere of intelligent existence, the angelic. There is then, thus far, one separate order of existence—the necessary one of the Godhead, a unity in which a tri-personality is a philosophical necessity. And next, there is a second created order of existence, in the unity of which there are innumerable separate individuals. The angelic order of existence is an unity, inasmuch as it has a definite number of individuals all possessed of a like common nature. Doubtless there are constitutional differences in the various individualities, which constitute the angelic order of existence. All these individualities have then to be taken together, to complete the unity of the angelic order of existence. Subject to such individual modifications, there is such a thing as the angelic nature, just as there is such a thing as human nature and the God-nature. There is a God, or Godhead nature; there is an angelic nature; and there is a human nature. It is this element which consti-



tutes the fact of unity, in any of these orders of being. God is one, because the three persons in the Godhead have each entirely the Godhead nature. All angels have the angelic nature; all are common partakers of it. All human beings partake of a common human nature, hence the unity of the race; so in the highest order of existence. God is one, inasmuch as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are each partakers, and in a necessary manner, of, the one common generic nature, peculiar to the Godhead. There is then a God, or Divine nature, peculiar to the Godhead, which constitutes its unity; there is, moreover, an angelic nature, and there is a human nature. Human nature is generic; in order to its perfect manifestation, all the individuals which constitute the race must be taken together. The whole Godhead is manifest in any one person of the ever blessed Trinity. And perhaps the same is true of angelic nature; but it is not so in the case of man. In the case of human nature, all the individuals are partakers of something in common; and this constitutes and preserves the unity of the race. But no one individual, has in himself, the whole of human nature; it requires all the individuals to be taken together, to render human nature, as a distinct order of existence, complete. Human nature cannot be, therefore, thoroughly defined, until all the individuals which are to constitute the race shall have passed through the sphere of real existence, thus consummating the mass. With the infinite and the perfect, there is necessarily, no difference. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are all the same; the consciousness of one of them, is that, of the others. In this supreme sphere of existence everything is necessary. In the human, inasmuch as it is finite, there are limitations, and therefore there is possibility of difference and variety. Limitation does not necessitate variety, therefore, in the angelic sphere it may not be so. But in the human there is limita-

tion, and with it variety; and all these varieties have to be taken together, in order perfectly to present the whole. Under such conditions, the consciousness of one individual, is not that of another. There is a sameness, and hence a unity of nature and of consciousness; but there is too, a constitutional variety, incidental to the proportions, in which human nature is arranged in the different individualities; and therefore, in the consciousness. There is, then, a consciousness peculiar to the individual, corresponding to the specific limitations of his being; and there is a more generic consciousness, peculiar to the race, and corresponding to the limitations of its being. The omniscient eye of the Deity, no doubt, sees mankind thus, in its entirety. He observes the operations within the race-consciousness, just as we do those within ourselves. The race-consciousness is to Him as the individual consciousness is to us. The consciousness of the race is thus, ever present before the eye of God; the beginning, middle, and end, are all ever present before Him, who has only to look, and to read it off. To us, however, this world-consciousness must ever remain an impossibility; our view, must ever be bounded by a very limited horizon, both as to time and space. Society is too broad for us to see it even at any one period all at once; and our time is so short, that we obtain but a glimpse of the, to us, ever changing panorama of events.

The social area which our powers of observation enable us personally to scan, is the age in which we live, and that branch of society, that section of humanity in which we find ourselves placed. Subject to such limitations, it is practicable for us to make a study of the consciousness of the age. True, we can extend the horizon by using history, but this would be to enter upon a broader study and science. The thinker can direct his attention upon the operations observable within the age-consciousness, as truly, as he can upon

those taking place within himself. It is just as legitimate to study the consciousness of the age as that of the individual; and to the man who is accustomed to such work, doubtless, the movements occurring and the forces at work within and upon society, are as clearly discernible, as are those of the soul, to the psychologist. True, the study of this generic consciousness is more difficult than is that of the specific individual consciousness; but the facts of the one are just as real and as conspicuous to the practised observer as are those of the other; the analysis is more complicated and difficult; but with patience it can be finally effected. The man who makes us known to ourselves, does for us a valuable work. He raises us from the instinctive sphere of childhood life, to that of thoughtful reflecting self-conscious manhood. So in the domain of social life, of man as a generic and therefore historic being. The thinker who is able to seize hold of the forces at work within society, to hold them up for general inspection, to describe them, and thus to bring them out clearly before the consciousness of his fellow-men; such a man does a work still more valuable for his age; for he enables it to see itself; to know whither it is drifting; and if that drift be in a dangerous direction, towards the vortex; perhaps, he may be the means, of preventing a catastrophe. The main difficulty in the individual and with society at large, is, in its want of self-consciousness. A man may be very easily ruined, before he bethink himself and become aware of what it is that is destroying him. When a man "comes to himself," that is, awakes to a realization of his situation, then there is hope; but, until then there is none. Society is but man on a large scale. Could we but see, as no doubt God sees it, we should observe, that society is entirely unconscious of those influences which are thus effectually swaying it, and is all unaware of whither it is drifting. We would see human

masses swayed hither and thither accordingly as they are led by those who undertake to influence them; and as the grand result, we might observe a general movement of the whole mass, in some particular direction. It is seldom, if ever, that society becomes self-conscious and aware of whither it is drifting. And although it by no means follows, that when such influences and such a drift are made manifest by some one who is able to detect them; that such a revelation will prove effectual, in influencing or in counteracting such a movement, when it is in the direction of evil; still, there is always some value to be attached to such an exhibit; at least, it will make honest thoughtful men pause and reflect. It will cause such minds to re-examine then their positions and to test the ground upon which they are invited to take position; thus it may be the means of doing some good, of saving the honest from hurrying on with the thoughtless mass towards the abyss. Not every man, however, who "comes to himself," repents. All are not like the "prodigal son." And the same is true of society. It may see its folly; but may not care to mend. There are always certain questions which agitate society; certain ideas or systems of thought struggling within the consciousness of the age towards their realization. It is a curious fact, but true, that society is never, as a whole, completely under the dominion of any one idea, or of any one system of thought. There are always two views of a subject co-existent and co-antagonistic. No system of philosophy ever holds exclusive sway. If Aristotle rules, still, Plato will resist him. Positivism may appear to be universal, and yet a close observation will inevitably bring to light, as a fact, an ever-increasing reaction, in favor of idealism. There is always a reaction against the prevailing tendency of an age; a minority, ever watchful to take advantage of every opportunity that its adversary may inadvertently offer. Such an opposition, when

hopelessly in the minority, stands to the prevailing tendency, as embodied in the majority, in the relation of its critic. Its office is to watch, to detect, to expose defects, to undermine what is, and so to prepare the way for what is to be.

Every age has its prevailing tendencies, and its stealthily brewing, reactionary influences. Every age has its favorite philosophic system, its dominant ideas, its way of feeling; its majority: and it has also, its opposite, philosophic system, which is to be; it has ideas which aim to subvert those that are; it has its incipient fluctuation, in the sphere of the feelings. The age which is soft and sentimental, carries in it the germ of an age, that will be stern and unrelenting. The age that despises æsthetics, carries in it the germ of one, that will adore the fine arts. The age that is critical and unbelieving, carries in it, an already reaction towards religion, and even superstition. Thus there is ever a minority, an opposition, alongside of the prevailing tendency of the majority.

We propose in the ensuing work to select and to describe some of the tendencies, philosophical and practical, prevailing; or, as yet, only reactionary, which are clearly discernible within the consciousness of this, our age. Forces will continue to act within and upon society, irrespective of our observation of them. But to become aware of what is going on around us, is certainly instructive and interesting. Moreover, it makes us wiser; enables us to choose for ourselves on which side we prefer to enlist; enables us to separate ourselves from the evil and from the false; and to attach ourselves to the true, the beautiful, and the good.

The first thing to be done, in order towards an intelligent understanding of the facts of the present, is to detect, single out, and then clearly describe those facts which we propose at present to deal with. The forces operating within the

sphere of the consciousness of an age are always numerous and complex. Any domain of thought, and of life, — the moral, the religious, the social, or the political, — any one of these might be taken, examined, and considered separately. When any such sphere is selected as the one towards which our attention is to be especially directed, the first thing to be done, is thereupon, to select those particular facts which are to be the subjects of our examination. Having made such a selection, holding them up, firmly grasped, that they may be clearly seen by others, we proceed to analyze, and so to describe them. Next we proceed to classify; and to do this, we must look back into the past. To understand the present, we must study the past. History then next comes under our observation, and we proceed to examine it just as we have done the present. The object in view, is to detect the forces which have been operating, in the formation of the history of the past. History gives us events, and these we can freely examine, in order to discover their organic connection or the vital forces which produced them. Having, then, in the sequence of historic events, and in their relation to each other, succeeded in detecting certain movements and the forces which are therein embodied, we have before us a certain class of facts, with which we can collate, those which we have detected in the present. In so far as such facts are cognate, we can classify them, and thereupon can proceed to generalize and to infer, as concerns the future. Thus we attach the present to the past, and enlarge our field of observation, by taking in the whole domain of history; our experience is therefore so much the more extended, and our generalizations so much the more valuable.

By thus comparing the present with the past, we are able to recognize what now is, in what was. We can see in former ages the very same ideas and philosophies and feel-

ings at work, as now; we see what results then followed, and we know therefore what to expect. Moreover, we ought to learn wisdom by such retrospection. In thus reflecting upon the movements of the past; where they acted disastrously, we ought to learn wisdom. Such disasters ought to enlighten us as to the true nature of the causes from which they resulted; for thus only can truth be made manifest and error eliminated and condemned. Being thus informed as to error, we ought to be warned against it in future and learn to avoid it. Thus the past, if it were but used, might be "a light unto our feet and a lamp unto our path," and enable us to walk in the light, that we should not again stumble, and repeat forever and forever the same sad, dismal story, of a decline and fall; and all through the fatal inanity of falsehood. Every fatal movement starts and has its vital source, in error. The only way of preventing the disaster is to correct the error. As long as that remains implanted in the consciousness of the age, whether it be as an idea or a school of thought, a philosophy or a system of theology — whatever may be the nature of the error — it is certain, that until it is dislodged, trampled upon, and uprooted and cast out from the consciousness a lie; so long will it continue to fructify, or, like a cancer, will continue eating into and destroying the age and society in which it exists. It is of vital importance, then, that the inanity and the falsehood of error, should be clearly manifested. It must be both controverted and at the same time encountered and put to flight by the explicit statement of its counter-truth. To controvert error without, at the same time, establishing in its place, positive truth, is but time wasted. For society, deprived of its error-food, nothing being substituted in its place that it can lay hold upon, will but adopt another, to feed upon. The enunciation of positive truth, is the only way, by which effectually to check-

mate the insidious moves of the wily Spirit of Lies — the only way in which he himself can be effectually met and foiled.

In thus exhibiting the movements of an age; in detecting and exposing what are deemed dangerous movements, and in tracing them up to the source from which they emanate, it becomes necessary, while on the one hand, the parent error is directly assaulted and shown to be inane and false, on the other hand, to meet it fairly and squarely, by exhibiting in opposition to it its antagonistic and counter-truth. Thus, in the first movement treated of in the succeeding work; inasmuch as all the agitations with respect to the *form* of the Christian Church are, in the opinion of the writer, the result of a fundamental error, it becomes necessary to controvert this error, and at the same time to present as the counter-truth, subversive of such an error, the true view of the ecclesiastical system of Christianity. Such a method, while it controverts the false, provides a remedy, in that it exhibits and recommends the true, to be substituted in its place. The same process is carried out in the discussion of each succeeding subject. First, having detected, as we think, certain forces at work within society, through the observation of certain decided movements, we proceed to describe, and so to exhibit them; next we collate these movements and forces with similar ones observable in the history of the past, and thus are enabled to attain to a clearer insight into the nature and character of such movements. By studying similar processes in the past, we learn how to interpret the present, and what to expect in the future; moreover, by such a method, we are better able to trace the movements observed in the present to their proper sources, and to determine whether the principles from which they issue be true or false.

The object of the present volume is, then, (while to a



certain extent and within certain limitation analyzing the present state of society,) to expose certain errors, which, like so many noxious influences, are at work within society, poisoning, corrupting, distracting, and dissolving it. In exposing these errors we will have to trace them to their sources, where we will come in sight of, and in contact with, the parent error or principle, from which the subordinate error naturally issues. These primal, fundamental, false principles, must be exhibited, exposed, and subverted, — which we will essay to do both negatively and affirmatively: negatively, by showing how and wherein they are false; affirmatively, by substituting in their place, what is positively the truth. In fine, there is, as we have said, a specific consciousness, the consciousness of the individual person; and there is a generic consciousness, the consciousness of the world, and, more specifically, of an age. In a former work, entitled *What is Religion?* we directed our attention exclusively towards and upon the individual consciousness: we propose in this work to direct our powers of observation towards and upon a more general field, the consciousness of this age. We propose analyzing the facts observable in this age-consciousness; directing our attention especially to that class of facts which falls within what may be designated, specifically, the religious consciousness of the age. We propose to exhibit these facts by showing what they are in themselves, what are their causes, and what are their legitimate and inevitable results.



# PRESENT ISSUES.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE CHURCH, AS AN ESTABLISHMENT, ESSENTIALLY HUMAN.

MAN as an order of being may be contemplated under two aspects. First, we may regard him as an individual, a personal individual being; we may regard each individual man separatim, irrespective of the rest of that race to which by an essential bond he is joined. In fine, we may contemplate the individual person, holding him up in isolation before us; or, secondly, we may contemplate him as a social being, as one of a race, as the member of an organized body, and therefore as essentially related to and connected with all the other members of the race.

Man as an individual stands related to God, his fellow-man, to himself; to the animal or brute creation, and to inanimate nature, which he finds himself surrounded by and in contact with. Out of the relation in which he stands with respect to God, spring duties essentially religious, as love, reverence, trust, obedience, and worship; out of the relation in which he stands with respect to his fellow-man and the brute creation, issues morals, the system of ethics in its social aspects, social morality. Out of the relation in which he stands with respect to himself, springs morals,

ethics as a self-system, personal morality, the morality of chastity, temperance, cleanliness, all that pertains to the person, soul, or body. And lastly, out of the relation in which man stands with respect to inanimate nature, the physical creation, springs the morality of æsthetics; that is, man owes it to nature to appreciate, love it; to use and improve it, so far as he is able. Ethics, the science of morals, then, regarding the individual man as a centre, includes the duties one owes to his fellow-man, to beast, to self, and to inanimate nature, and brings man under obligation to perform the same; he owes something to his fellow-men and to the brutes, something to himself, and something to the inanimate creation by which he is surrounded. As a *creature*, a *son* of God, he is necessarily a religious being, and owes especial duties to God, as his Creator and Father; moreover, as a free agent, placed upon this earth to do honor to his Creator, he is responsible to Him for the way in which he uses the talents entrusted to his care. He is responsible to God for the way in which he conducts himself with respect to the objects among which he finds himself placed; and if he fail to do his duty in any respect, if he fail to meet his obligations as a man, God will require it of him. Therefore, although creatureship and sonship entail on man certain peculiar duties, corresponding to such relationship, free agency carries with it all. It makes man a responsible being, responsible to God under all the relations in which he finds himself placed. It makes him responsible to God for the duties he owes to his neighbor, the brutes, and to inanimate nature. It makes him responsible for any injury he does himself. His soul and body are God-given talents; they must be used and improved, not wasted, defiled, deformed, or even allowed to lie idle and to rust. Out of this relation, in which man as a creature, son, and free agent stands with respect to God, his

Creator, Father, Sovereign, and Judge, springs Religion. The recognition of this relationship and of its consequent obligations, the consciousness of this in the human being, renders him religious.

So much for man as an individual; but man is also, as we have said, a social being, mutually connected by a bond essential to his nature with every member of his race. First he is one of a family; then of a community, tribe, or clan; then of a state; and finally, of the world. As a social being, man stands related to God only; and out of this relationship springs the cultus of Religion. The social relationship of man to God necessitates for its expression and manifestation, association; it gives rise to certain duties; and these duties felt, and pressing themselves upon the human consciousness, give rise to certain wants. Man as a religious social being, feels it incumbent upon him to express his sense of reverence, trust, and love to God in a public way; hence public worship. Prayer, the expression of trust, love, and dependence, is private; but worship is a social act; it springs out of the obligation that man feels himself under, publicly and before his fellow-men to express his allegiance to and reverence of his Maker. It is a public confession made by man, of his relation to, and consequent duty towards, God. The human race being religious, that is, being universally conscious of God, were it not for the condition into which it has been plunged by its fall, might be expected to present the following exhibition in this respect. We would find the whole race associated together in an organization more or less general, in organizations corresponding with, or varying, according to their respective local situations and political constitutions; we would find men organized under such a religious constitution, in such religious associations, worshipping God; that is, expressing their recognition of Him, and of their relation to Him, with

its incumbent duties, in public acts of homage, in public prayer, public praise; and constituted as man is, with the consciousness of sin and guilt pressing upon him, in the act of public sacrifice. Such an association or associations, such an organization, having such an object and employing such means; such an organization, a solidarity of uniformity, or of unity in multiplicity and diversity, having one common object in view; such a human social religious organization is, what, in its widest sense, we would denominate "the Church."

Again: association for any purpose, civil or religious, is a result; it springs out of and is necessitated by the social nature of man's being; it is but the realization of man's social instinct. Association implies organization; without it, it is chaotic, a contradiction, self-destructive. Organization implies a constitution, either in letter or in spirit, either written or unwritten, either a formal compact or a traditional constitution, which for the sake of logical consistency, men, statesmen and lawyers, assume to have arisen out of such a compact or compacts, of an antiquity so great that it has been lost; a prescriptive constitution "whereof memory runneth not to the contrary." Constitutions are, then, either written or unwritten, formal or prescriptive. The prescriptive constitution, is in reality nothing but an accretion; a deposit of such customs as the social instinct of man in his civil or religious relations necessitated, and therefore gradually enacted. Such a constitution is an organic growth; in its history it gives us the gradual development of man's social nature, either civil or religious, according as the constitution relates either to Church or State. The Church, then, like the State, is a result, the root of which is in the social nature of man. Jean Jacques Rousseau tells us the State has its origin in a social compact: if he means to say that here the fact begins, that such a compact lies at the very

beginning, is the source of the State; if he means to say that there must be such a compact, either real or fictitious, otherwise the State is impossible, he is mistaken. The State and the Church begin, not in compact — this is the end, not the beginning — they begin in man himself, are a necessity of his nature. As man, he is related to his fellow-man; as a moral being, he recognizes this relation and feels its obligations; as a moral social being, he is necessitated to associate for civil purposes; as a religious social being, he is necessitated to associate for religious purposes. Being necessitated to associate, he must organize; and to organize, he must enter into compact, he must place himself under a constitution. Here, then, is the point at which the doctrine of the social compact comes in for either Church or State.

The Church, then, like the State, is a result; a necessity of human nature. The State exists because man is a social and a moral being; the Church, because man is a social and a religious being. The main stress, in both cases, is to be laid on the sociality of man's nature; in the one case, it is the moral, in the other, the religious element that gives its name and color to the association. The ethico-political or civil association we designate the State; the religious association we term the Church.

Religious association, springing out of the relation in which man stands with respect to God, and the recognition of the duties and obligations consequent thereunto, has for its object the expression of man's sense of this relationship and of these consequent obligations. The relation in which God stands with respect to man is that of sovereign to subject; man recognizes this relationship, and expresses his sense of allegiance and subordination in the various acts of public worship. As a subject, he does acts of homage; as dependent, he prays; as an offender, he sacrifices and seeks to propitiate. Moreover, in consequence of the recognition

of this relationship, man feels his obligation to do his Sovereign's will. Necessarily, this will is felt to be the rule of the subject's obedience; hence this will must become the organic law in any ecclesiastical organization. The organic law, then, of the Church, in its widest definition, is the will of God. The Church, in its original and primal conception, is man in his social capacity, as a religious being, organized under a constitution, written or unwritten, formal and definite, or traditional and indefinite, for the purpose and with the intent of conforming to the will of God. Such is the leading idea in the most general, widest, and fundamental conception of that organization known as the Church. There are, then, in the one conception of the Church, two ideas. In the first, God is regarded as the object of homage, which gives us worship. In the second, He is regarded as a sovereign and law-giver, and this gives us the idea of obedience. Worship and obedience, both having God as their object, these are the two elements which an ultimate analysis of the substance of the Church necessarily brings to light. Throwing these ideas or elements together, we get this, namely: the Church is an organized association, under a constitution of some form, wherein men worship God, and wherein they are banded together for the purpose of mutually encouraging, stimulating, and assisting each other in complying with the will of God. In the State, we have man as a moral being, in his social capacity, enforcing justice, or the moral law; in the Church, we have him as a religious being, in the same social capacity, enforcing the divine law, the will of God. The State uses force; the Church, if true to itself, uses only spiritual and moral means to enforce obedience.

If human nature were in its normal condition, evidently the Church would be the organization under which it would place itself. The will of the Creator naturally would be



the rule of man's obedience; and no doubt, in time, a constitution adapted to the wants of human nature, and to the enforcement of this end, would naturally arise. Here, then, we would have human nature, the whole human race, placing itself under the category of the Theocracy. What God Himself established in the case of the Israelites, would, by man, acting under the pressure of his religious and social instincts, be self-established. And though the constitutions of different peoples and communities might be found to differ, varying according to the different genius of different peoples, still all would be found under the category of the Theocracy; that is to say, the organic law of each establishment would be the will of God. Herein they would be at one; herein would consist their unity; the diversity would be in the difference of their respective constitutions.

But human nature, as we find it in the actuality, does not present such a spectacle. The Theocracy is not a reality; only a speculation. The world has never, under any one or under many constitutions, been associated under any organization, having for its object compliance with the will of God. His will has never been formally declared to be the organic law of the world.

The Jewish establishment presented such a spectacle; but it has never been exhibited anywhere else, nor even conceived of as being adapted for a world-establishment; certainly not until the second advent of Jesus Christ. The grand idea entertained by Jesus Christ was the establishment of just such a kingdom. Irrespective of race or nation, He proposed to associate men together in one grand organization, which He calls His, or His Father's Kingdom. Making use of man's religious and social instincts, he undertakes to organize a kingdom; and since the will of God is to be the organic law, the fundamental element, the basis

of unity, in this establishment, in the first place He reveals fully to man by word, deed, and life itself, the will of God His Father. His life is in itself a self-revelation of God, and consequently of the will of God under the conditions of sinful humanity. He places Himself in the midst of a fallen world, in the very midst of sinful men, and by His life He exhibits clearly the Spirit and consequent will of God for man, in the situation of a sinner. Here, then, we have before us for adoption, as the basis of a world-establishment, a ground of unity; here is the organic law for the proposed kingdom, the will of God.

Next, then, as to the constitution of such an establishment. Have we any constitution formally proposed by Jesus Christ? Have we any written constitution drawn up by Christ Himself for His Kingdom? Evidently no; He Himself drew up no such constitution. He Himself left no such establishment; but only its rudiments. The Apostles were the men appointed by Jesus Christ to organize His Kingdom. The spiritual truths and facts of Christianity, the means by which the material for the kingdom was to be prepared, were entrusted by their Master to His Apostles. The first thing for them to do was, of course, to enunciate these truths, and propose them to others for their acceptance. The will of God, as revealed in and by Jesus Christ, was, therefore, at once preached to others by the Apostles, and proposed as the basis for a new religious association. This once being accepted, they proceed immediately to adopt some form of constitution; for to organize, men must place themselves under some constitutional form. Now a constitution may be written or unwritten; it may be either a formal explicit constitution, or an informal one, a growth, the result of circumstances. Did the Apostles, then, draft any express written constitution for that establishment, of which they were the founders? The material

being at hand, their next step was to construct and rear the structure. What was this material? In what did it consist? In the first place, the material consisted of men; religious social human nature, was the fundamental element in that Christian structure, the Church. In the next place, it was human nature, or men under certain conditions. Man as a religious, social being, in his normal state is prompted to and necessitated by the dictates of his nature to associate and organize as a Church. But the Christian Church is something more than the Church under this its most general definition. It has other elements in it peculiar to it. Like the Church under its general formula, the Christian establishment exists only because man is a religious, social being. Like it, it is man organized under a constitution for religious purposes—the will of God being the organic law of the organization. But there are other elements in it which the Church in its primal condition and definition has not.

Man, as a religious being, recognizes his relation to God, with its consequent duties. The Church, under its primal conception, is the result of this recognition. Such an establishment or Church, is the organization of man as an innocent unfallen being. It is the Church of the past, of a period that never was, but which might have been, had not our forefather Adam fallen.

The Christian Church has its root in this, that, under it, man recognizes God, not only as his Creator and Sovereign, but also as his Redeemer or Saviour. The recognition of such a relationship carries with it all the feelings, duties, and obligations naturally incident thereto. The Christian Church is the establishment of fallen humanity, and herein it differs from the Church in its original conception, for therein man is regarded in his upright, unfallen condition.

The Apostles addressed their fellow-men as sinners; rely-

ing upon the religious and social instincts of humanity, having opened to them the peculiar truths and facts of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and having persuaded them of their truth; having exhibited to sinners God in Jesus Christ, manifest as a Saviour and Redeemer; having induced fallen man to recognize and feel the power of this newly revealed relationship, its joys, hopes, and its duties; depending, we say, upon the social and religious instincts of humanity, and knowing the necessities of such instincts, they at once proceed to organize those who have experienced the power of those truths, the Christian converts, under that association, thereafter to be known as the Christian Church. In order to such an organization, evidently some constitution must be adopted.

Finding no formal draft of a Church constitution in the Christian Scriptures, necessarily we conclude that none such was made. The Christian Church has not, then, as its basis, any express written formal constitution. Its constitution, so far as it was Apostolic, was the result of specific Apostolic acts. As an establishment, it was an accretion, an organic growth; circumstances revealed necessities, and such necessities were met by specific Apostolic action.

At the time of the formation of the Christian Church there was a religious constitution wonderfully adapted to the necessities of such an association, and to which no doubt, consciously or unconsciously, the Apostles were largely indebted. The synagogue constitution is the one to which we refer. This system, elastic in its nature, capable of indefinite extension, yet orderly, was at that time widely prevalent. It existed in Judea itself, and adhered to the Jews wherever they were to be found. The Church constitution of the Hellenists, of the Jews scattered abroad, was this synagogue system. In nearly all the cities which St. Paul visits, we find him entering into the *synagogue*, and

preaching. Evidently this system was a transition one, a form by no means essentially Jewish, prepared in the providence of God for the embodiment of the new Christian spirit. And this constitution, no doubt, being familiar to the Apostles, and being so well adapted to the wants of the new society, was the one to which they were indebted in their establishment of the Christian ecclesiastical constitution.

The Christian Church, then, so far as concerns the form of its constitution, began its life not under the limitations of any formal written constitution, but drew upon itself wherewith to clothe itself, a form already existing and prepared for it, that of the Jewish or rather Hellenistic synagogue. Starting then with this elastic, pliable constitutional form, the Christian spirit drew upon itself, as circumstances gradually opened necessities, such additional habiliments as it felt that it required. Its constitution was not a fixed one, but organic, a growth, the form or body which every living spirit must necessarily take upon itself.

Thus the Apostles having organized the new creation which sprung up under their preaching, under the constitution of the Hellenistic synagogue, ushered it into existence. Behold then a new creation — the Christian Church !

The material for the construction of the Christian Church was prepared by the Apostolic preaching of the Gospel. Under its influence men were first led to know themselves, to recognize themselves as the members of a fallen, ruined race, as sinners. By it they were convinced, not only of their original relation to God as creatures and subjects, but were moreover brought to see to recognize and to appreciate that new relation which God had been pleased to take with respect to them as sinners ; to view Him as man's Saviour and Redeemer. Recognizing this relationship, and feeling its obligations, men — such as had been brought into

this state as religious, social beings—were at once ready and willing to enter into a new religious association. Here then was the material ready. At this point the organizing qualifications of the Apostles were called into requisition, and as a result we have the constitution of the Church.

What that was we have seen. Men do not organize themselves; the mass necessarily as such is inactive. Circumstances having prepared the way for association, in order that the mass should crystallize, the blow must be struck; some movement must be made; a leader must appear to bring the mass into order. This is what the Apostles did, having by their preaching secured a mass of material; at once they go to work and bring it into order. Thus having obtained an orderly nucleus, and having adopted an elastic constitution capable of infinite expansion, the rest follows as a matter of course. The Church expands without losing its organization.

With this expansion, new wants begin to make themselves felt. The synagogue system, though complete in its integral parts, was notably deficient in one grand item, namely, that of unity. It was deficient in its power of centralization; had no head, no centre of unity. Each of its parts was a whole, complete in itself, and although only one of many like parts, still it was a whole; it was, in fact, the congregational system; deficient therefore in unity, and therefore in power, liable moreover to disintegration. With the expansion of the Christian Church this defect began at once to be felt, and the Christian spirit, true to its instinct of self-preservation, undertook immediately to remedy it. Here then we are at a point where the constitution of the Church begins to modify itself, by adapting itself wisely to the exigencies of the situation.

With the increase of separate congregations of Christians, a felt necessity for a higher and stronger bond of unity be-

gan to develop itself. The different bodies must be bound together, for unity is strength. Hence the use of the Episcopal system, which begins in the effort to unite separate congregational bodies; and which subsequently, and in accordance with the demand of the Church as it expanded, secured its unity in the Metropolitan constitution, in the Patriarchate, and, finally, in the Papacy; and hence, subsequently, Protestantism and its multiplicity of sects — the natural reaction of the Christian spirit against the despotism of a Papal unity. Evidently the constitution of the Christian Church never was, nor is now, a fixed one. It will adapt itself to the necessities of the times. The dogma which asserts its claim as being an article of the Christian creed, that the constitution of the Church is the subject of an express revelation, and then that some particular existing form is that revealed one, — such a dogma is not Apostolic, and therefore of God, but is of man. It is man's effort to bolster up his particular sect by attaching to it the Divine sanction. It is contradicted by the Scriptures themselves, and is in the very teeth of history. It is to be observed that in human affairs practice usually precedes doctrine. Man acts first, then justifies his act; at which point the doctrine springs up. Thus the original Apostolic constitution having been forced by the expansion of the Church, and by the pressure of the Christian spirit towards unity, to modify itself in some particulars: Being forced, in the first place, for greater unity and power, to introduce the organization of Dioceses with their Bishops, and so on up to the spiritual empire of the Pope: The constitution of the Church being thus obliged to vary and to adapt itself to circumstances; at each step in this succession, there were not absent those, who would fain have foisted it into the Christian creed as a Divine dogma that the then existing form of constitution was the divinely instituted one.

The change having taken place, authority is invoked to sanction it. Doctrine must confirm and justify the practice. Hence the existence of that dogma which every sect, every form of church constitution, would appropriate to itself, and so justify and confirm its existence as *the only* Divine establishment.

This fatal dogma, for fatal it is to all church unity, that any particular form of church constitution is Divine, and therefore essential to the very being of a church, would appear in its formal enunciation to date from Augustin, Bishop of Hippo. He gave this doctrine its form, and cast it into the church, thenceforth to create nothing but rancorous strife and violent persecution. Up to that time it had been floating about in the ecclesiastical atmosphere; but only as a vapor. It wanted consistency and power. Augustin with his powerful mind gave it what it wanted in order to become a power. The idea of the Theocracy — that the Christian Church was like its antecedent, the Jewish, a Theocracy with constitution immutable, irrevocably fixed; this idea, we say, owes its formal origin and its forcible propagation to Augustin. Hildebrand sought to realize it and to make the kingdoms of this world all subordinate to him and to his; in fact, to make the world his kingdom; with what success let history speak. This is the root idea of the Papal constitution, and of many of the sects falling within the category of Protestantism. For do we not find them all manfully contending for Apostolic sanction for their particular form of constitution? Behold a spectacle, a sight worthy of Christianity which inculcates unity and love. Behold a whole host of combatants, all stripped for the contest, all vociferously wrangling, all fiercely assaulting each other, all contending for the mastery, mad in the contest for power. Those who get the mastery often cruelly persecuting their dissenting brethren,



trying to exterminate the detested schismatics. And all this because of that fatal dogma, enunciated formally first by the autocratic Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, and afterwards unfortunately sanctioned and extended into a system by Augustin, Bishop of Hippo, namely, that the church in its outward form is by Divine appointment; and then, naturally enough, that the constitutional form of the church that then existed was that Divine appointment, and was therefore by Divine right — corollary;—whosoever resisteth the ecclesiastical powers that be, resisteth God; and, as in the Jewish Theocracy, shall be cut off. Here, then, we are at the source of that whole system of spiritual, while at the same time painfully physical discipline, of which this same Augustin was the author, ending finally in the fagot and the stake, and in the pitiless anathema. All this because of that fatal dogma, that the Christian Church is a second Jewish Theocracy, of which bishops or primates of some kind are the administrators, the God-appointed functionaries.

In opposition to this whole system, a careful observation of the Apostolic planting of Christianity, and of the subsequent development of the Christian Church, teaches, that while the Apostles, in organizing Christianity, necessarily placed it under the limitation of a constitution, still the limits of such a constitution were never accurately defined. The church constitution was not intended to exhibit the rigidity of the Old Testament Theocracy. But in adopting the Hellenistic synagogue system, the Apostles showed the value they attached to elasticity and susceptibility of adaptation to the necessities of an ever-increasing community. The aristocratic and subsequent monarchical form which the Christian constitution afterwards assumed, was a result of these wise and lenient principles. The constitution of the Christian Church is then an organic devel-

opment, a fluctuating, and yet at the same time a constant element in the Divine system of Christianity. The Christian society required organization, and consequently a form or constitution; inasmuch, then, as it relates to some such form, there is a constant element; but in so far as that form is liable to change, there is too a varying and fluctuating element in the Christian Church.

The Christian Church being an organized society of *Christian* men, it is evident that its characteristic feature, as distinguishing it from every other religious society, is the spiritual condition of its members. There are other organized religious societies than the Christian Church. Mohammedanism gave rise to such a religious establishment. Buddhism, Brahminism, both exist as religious organizations. Parseeism, the religion of the Persians, nay, even the Polytheism of the Greeks and Romans, exist as religious organizations. Every religious organization is, therefore, not the Christian Church; is not even a church; for the prime element of any organization calling itself a church is, that in it the will of God exists as its organic law. This is the object and intent of the organization. The Jewish Theocracy was the sole antecedent of the Christian Church. The organic law of that establishment was the Ten Commandments; of the Christian Church it is the Sermon on the Mount and the whole self-manifestation of Jesus Christ. Conformity to Christ, who is God manifest in the flesh, and man God-like, the incarnation of the will of God for man; conformity with Him is the organic law of the Christian Church.

Other religious societies had no such organic law underlying their organization and giving rise to it. They only existed because man is a religious social being; arose out of the necessity of his nature. They are religious organized societies, but not churches, or integral parts of the

Catholic Church. The Christian Church is the first effort made to organize man, the whole race, in one society, for the observation of the will of God. And since man is a sinner, the basis upon which it rests, is the recognition of this fact, and then of its supplement, the new relation in which man as a sinner stands with respect to God by virtue of redemption. Starting from the supposition that man has appropriated these two grand facts, namely, that he is a sinner, and that God now stands to him in the attitude and in the relation of a Redeemer; grounding itself on this basis, these truths having entered into and having become imbedded in the very consciousness of its members, the Christian Church organizes itself, or rather is organized, by means of a constitution, into a society whose aim and object is conformity with Christ, only another expression, as we have shown, for obedience to the will of God. And then, inasmuch as man in his present state of being is not made whole at once; inasmuch as there is evil always abiding in human nature, even unto the end; inasmuch, therefore, as the Church is not an absolutely holy institution, its members not being wholly so, therefore this element of evil has to be also taken into consideration, and the Church, to meet it, is obliged to adopt some system of discipline. Hence arose the system of penances, and hence the meaning of the Church's ultimate appeal, when forced in self-justification and for self-protection to encounter the recusant, its ban of excommunication. If men on becoming Christians ceased to be sinners, penance would not exist; there would be no need for a system of discipline. But inasmuch as this is not the case, the Church is bound to apply discipline in order to declare its meaning, and for the welfare of its members.

The Christian Church starting in the appropriation by men of the great facts of sin and redemption, it is evident

that, in order to its very existence, these two facts must be promulgated and received. Hence the distinguishing feature of this society, its evangelical or preaching attitude. The first thing to be done in order to its existence is that men be made Christians; that they be convinced of those two great facts, one upon which the Gospel rests, the other, which it propounds: first, that man is a sinner, and next, that God has through and by His Son Jesus Christ effected his redemption. Let these two great truths become imbedded in the human consciousness; let man as a religious being realize and feel the obligations of such newly-opened relationship between himself and his Maker; let him be thus prepared to undertake obedience to the will of God, as revealed in and by Jesus Christ, and then he is prepared to be organized under the constitution of the Christian Church. By preaching he is a Christian, first in head, then in heart. First, he sees the truth, then he feels its force. First, he is persuaded, then he is anxious to act. Here, then, the Christian Church comes into existence. It receives Christian men, forms with them a society, organizes them under a constitution elastic and suited to the exigency of the times then being. The material out of which the Christian Church is constructed is, then, Christian men. Man by nature is religious; through the Gospel or Christianity believed in and received into the heart, he becomes more than religious, he becomes a Christian. He recognizes his relation to God not merely as a creature and a subject, but also as a son and a redeemed being; and as such, he feels bound to God his Saviour by ties of gratitude and filial affection. He recognizes God as his Father and Jesus Christ as his Saviour, the Son of God, the gift of God; himself a manifestation of redeeming love. Being thus awakened to the Divine life, and restored through faith to a filial relation with respect to God, as a religious being,

man voluntarily submits himself to the will of God, which he at once perceives to be conformity with the Divine human life of Jesus Christ. Moreover, being a social being, under the presence of these instincts and in communion with all his fellows who have been likewise converted to God, at once he feels the necessity of entering into an association and forming a religious, a Christian society, for Christian purposes. As a religious social being, he must establish the Church in the widest acceptation; as a Christian social being, he must organize the Christian Church. The organizing agency now alone is wanting. That appeared and wrought in the Apostles. A constitution, not however written or formal, was adopted, and the Christian Church, under the constitution of the Jewish and Hellenistic synagogue, was launched into existence.

The principle which lies at the basis of the Christian ecclesiastical establishment is this, namely, that the constitution, or that which gives form to the Christian society of the Church, is not to be considered as of divine appointment, not to be considered as immutable. On the contrary, it is to be regarded as of human appointment. The constitution of the primitive Church was chosen and adopted as one adapted to the times then being. It was a wise one, elastic and capable in its elemental structure of indefinite expansion; but still it must adapt itself to the necessities of the conditions under which the Christian society might be placed. The Christian Church was not a Jewish Theocracy, or its mediæval reproduction the Christian Papacy. Its constitution is not the subject of revelation, nor can it be exactly gathered from the Apostolic writings. Its external organization, from the very first, was ever undergoing modifications. Casting off its congregational synagogue habiliments, soon among the Gentiles, it began to assume a correspondence with the Roman political system.

The bishop of a territorial diocese corresponds evidently with the governor of a political province; naturally the metropolitan, the bishop of the principal city of a province, becomes the first among his compeers, the *primus inter pares*; and thus the patriarchate, or exarchate — for, in fact, this name was first attached to the metropolitan office — arose. And then, naturally, in the western empire, Rome, the mistress of the world, soon attains the ascendancy; already, as temporal, she is recognized by the mind of the age as supreme, and soon she attains the same position in the ecclesiastical realm. Thus the Papacy arose.

The idea which stands at the basis of the polity of a nation must and will in the end penetrate, and mould into its form all the national institutions. The Church must and will in the end correspond with the State. Thus Imperialism, the idea of the Roman empire, finally penetrated the constitution of the Church; and in the Church we have imperial Cæsar reproduced. In the spirituo-ecclesiastical despotism of the mediæval Papal theocracy, in a Hildebrand or Innocent III., we have before us the Roman empire on a larger and grander scale than any that an Augustus or an Antoninus could exhibit.

Thus, in the end, the State idea pervaded and moulded the Church; and as the temporal idea waned, the spiritual or rather the ecclesiastical, waxed, until finally it conquered the State, the Pope of Rome becoming the temporal and ecclesiastical despot of the whole Christian world. Kings trembled at his frown; at his command, an emperor of Germany descends his throne; barefooted tracks his weary way through snow and ice to the castle of his infuriated master; for three days out in the cold of mid-winter before the gates of his castle, meekly he waits permission to enter and to prostrate himself in penitence; at length, being admitted, graciously he is permitted to kiss the foot of his

most sublime Papal Majesty; is pardoned and allowed to resume his throne. Kings of France and of England, too, have felt, and bowed themselves, under the yoke of some one of these infuriated spiritual pontiffs. The Imperial idea was at length realized in the Church. The Pope becomes at length the Cæsar of the whole Christian world.

In human events, as we have said, facts precede theory. First the institution, then follows the authority for it; practice or practices thus precede doctrines. The doctrine is fabricated in order to explain and justify the practice. So in the case of the Papacy, by a natural order in the march of historic events, it grew into existence. No such theory was in the mind of the Primitive Church. The Apostles never propounded it; true, they foresaw it, and as prophets predicted it; but feared it, and warned against it. But the Papal constitution having once become a fact, inasmuch as it called itself the Church, must find authority for its existence. To make itself firm it must, if possible, prove itself to be God-appointed. Here, then, the doctrine of the divine nature of the Papal constitution comes into being. So long as it is maintained that the form of Church government, its constitution, is not a subject of divine institution, all is well; but let this doctrine be lost sight of, and the Papacy will be able to maintain itself.

Now arises the doctrine that Peter is the foundation of the Church, that he is chief of the Apostles; that the Roman Bishops are the successors of Peter, and succeed to his Primacy. Here, then, comes into being a doctrine suited to justify the position and the claims of the Roman Bishop to be Lord of the Church. Here appears the use of such a code as the "pseudo-Isidorean Decretals," a case just in point. A pseudo-authority brought in to justify an existing fact. The formation of the Papal constitution, as an ecclesiastical establishment, was complete

when thus the Roman Pontiff gained the supremacy over all the other bishops of Western Christendom; and when it was received as a doctrine that he, as the successor of Peter, was the spiritual head of the Church.

But this was not the end, the Pope was to be supreme not only in Church, in properly spiritual matters, but also in State. The ecclesiastical government was to include in it secular matters. The spiritual was to control the temporal. Here, then, the struggle between Church and State formally begins. Of course these institutions, all along, ever since the triumph of Christianity under Constantine, had been more or less coming into collision. The Church had all along been infringing upon the rights of the State. There is always a preparation for a revolution, its germs have all along been developing side by side with the existing institutions. The idea of the supremacy of Church over State had all along existed in that of the Church as a temporal Theocracy. The gradual realization of that idea in the ecclesiastical constitution of the Church prepared the way for the realization of the same idea in Christendom at large. All along the idea of the Christian Church as a temporal Theocracy had been pressing itself forward upon the mind of the ages, seeking its realization. It had succeeded in the ecclesiastical sphere; it would now attempt its absolute realization in Christendom at large. The success of this idea was, in the ecclesiastical sphere, mainly owing to the power of its antecedent, the idea of solidarity, previously dominant, the very root-idea of the Roman Empire. This prepared the way for the triumph of the Papal constitution both in Church and State. The Theocracy was to become again an absolute fact in history. Once it existed as a Jewish constitution. Now again it was to reproduce itself in Christendom. The "pseudo-Isidorean Decretals" being once received as authority, the whole Papal Theocratic



system, with all its Hierarchical Despotism, having the Pope at its head as the Vicar of Christ, was forever fastened upon the Church as being its Divinely-appointed constitution. The triumph of the ecclesiastical over the secular, the realization of the Papal Theocratic idea in all its fullness, was now but a matter of time.

“In these forged Decretals the Papal theocratic system is set forth with a completeness and pushed to an extreme never before expressed in any connected series of ecclesiastical laws. The idea of an inviolable caste of priests consecrated to God, the fundamental element out of which the entire hierarchical system was composed, and the basis on which it reposes, was brought out and defended by employing and perverting Scriptural texts, especially from the Old Testament, in a manner the most bold and the most directly at variance with the spirit of the Gospel. The Priests were represented as the apple of God’s eye, the *familiares Dei*, the *spirituales* as opposed to the *carнаles*, the term which was applied to the laity. Whoever sinned against them sinned against God himself, as they were the representatives of God and Christ. Men were to see Christ in them. The priests were subject to no secular tribunal; on the contrary, God had constituted them the judges over all. The passage in Ps. lxxxii. 1, was often applied to them: ‘God standeth in the congregation of the mighty.’ ‘He judgeth among the gods.’ All who were oppressed should be able to look to the priests, and with them find protection. It is carefully inculcated that bad priests, if they do not fall from the faith, must be tolerated, as sent by God, and that the laity should in no case be set as judges over them. Complaints against ecclesiastics are hedged around with the greatest possible number of difficulties. And in that state of the Church, when a large portion of the clergy was so destitute of personal dignity, it was in truth neces-

sary to maintain the dignity of the Priesthood that it should be rendered as independent as possible of personal worth. If the priests should once come to be regarded as organs for the transmission of magical virtues, — as it is made a prominent point in these Decretals, that by the priests' words Christ's body is produced, — with this could easily be associated the idea, that, although it were greatly to be wished the priests should by their personal character always prove to be worthy organs, yet, even independent of this personal worth, they must ever be regarded with reverence, as the vehicle through which these Divine virtues are communicated to men. The inviolability of the Church is sharply defined and strongly insisted upon, as well with reference to the property, as to the persons consecrated to its service; a trespass against this inviolability is represented as sacrilegium — a sin against God, the most enormous of crimes.

“The principles inculcated with regard to the objective importance of the priesthood generally, were now applied especially to the office of bishops as those to whom the power to bind and loose had been given by Christ. Men should respect even the unjust decision of a bishop, though the latter ought to be careful never to make such a decision. Thus, the fear of the ecclesiastical sentence was alone to be strongly impressed upon the laity. The bishops were especially represented as inviolable persons, to be protected against both the arbitrary will of secular power and also the attack of other ecclesiastical authorities, such as the Metropolitans with whom the Bishops in the Frankish empire were frequently in dispute. The only means for maintaining the inviolability and independence of the bishops was for them to possess, in a head, over the entire church, a secure refuge against every arbitrary procedure and oppressive measure on the part of the secular power, and of

their ecclesiastical superiors and colleagues; to make the Pope the judge over the bishops, in the last resort, from whom there could be no appeal. Thus, then, was presented a coherent organism of ecclesiastical power, evolved in a regular gradation. Over the Metropolitans were placed the primates and patriarchs. But over all presided the Bishop of Rome as the successor of Peter; on whom in particular Christ had conferred the power to bind and to loose. It was repeatedly inculcated that the Church of Rome was directly constituted head over all the others by Christ himself. The episcopal chair of Peter, the *princeps Apostolorum*, had been transferred on grounds of convenience from Antioch to Rome. Moreover, it is already intimated in these decretals that the Emperor Constantine had transferred his sovereign authority in Rome to the Roman Bishop.\* Here, then, we have in its full development the establishment of the whole Hierarchical Papal Theocracy; as an ecclesiastical constitution it is complete. The idea of the Pope as the head of a temporal Theocracy is completely realized in the ecclesiastical sphere, and the germ of the subsequent triumph of this same idea, in and over the state is clearly visible. Here we are at the root of the doctrine of the Pope's temporal sovereignty, and for the complete triumph of this idea, time only is necessary. Here, then, is the doctrine which justifies the position of the Papal supremacy in both Church and State. In Hildebrand this idea entered upon the process of its final realization, and after a period of intense conflict, was realized; thenceforth for many ages to come the Church, or rather the Papacy, was recognized as being at the head of the world. Thenceforth the Pope was recognized as the Lord of Christendom. It is evident that the idea of such a Theocracy floated

\* Neander's Hist. of the Christian Religion and Church, Vol. III., pp. 348, 349.

vaguely before the mind of Gregory the Great ; but the idea was only then in embryo. It remained to be defined as in these pseudo-Isidorean Decretals, and then to be realized by Hildebrand, — a man of the time whose mind had been wholly imbued with it, — a man whose one idea it was, that the Church through its Divinely-appointed constitutional form, the Papacy, was designed to rule the world. “The idea of a religious, moral dominion over the world to be administered by the Papacy,” this was the one idea of Hildebrand, and he sacrificed his life in the realization of it.

The Papal constitution as realized in a Hildebrand, in an Innocent III., and in a Boniface VIII., though not now practicable in its application to the temporal powers, is still the received constitution of the Roman Church. But lately a general council of that church has seen fit to clothe its Pontiff with the powers of Infallibility. And this, in all questions of morals as well as of faith. Evidently, everything is contained in such a grant. The infallible one is a god on earth ; his binding and loosing, if received as this doctrine requires that it should be, is obligatory on the conscience. His tribunal is then that of God, final ; he can save and he can destroy. Evidently, such an infallible being is God upon earth, and if he but realize his prerogative, he can not but govern all the kingdoms of the world.

The Christian ecclesiastical constitution has then passed through three successive stages : first, the Apostolic, secondly, the Episcopal, and thirdly, the Papal, which last at the present time exists in full force, and exercises a despotic sway over two-thirds of Western Christendom.

Protestantism, along with other things, was a reaction against the ecclesiastical absolutism of the Papal constitution. All along, during the gradual evolution of the Papacy, we can observe evidences of such a reaction. The Christian spirit is essentially a free one, opposed to tyranny

of any kind. Thus, all along, we find traces of a contest for freedom of opinion and for the liberty of selecting its own ecclesiastical form, carried on by some one or other body or sect in the Church ; sometimes this contest seems to have been waged almost single-handed. The Protestant spirit was not a new one ; it had ever existed in the body of the Church, and many of the sects persecuted by the dominant party, and branded as heretics and schismatics, were but the forerunners and harbingers of the Reformation movement of the sixteenth century.

The reformation movement contains in itself two forces. It is the revolt of the spirit of the age against the absolutism of the Papal Hierarchical constitution ; and at the same time, it is a re-awakening of the Christian consciousness to the power of the truths of Redemption. As an event in history it was not a sudden one, nor should have been unexpected. On the contrary, it had been long brewing ; its causes had been long operating, the time for the issue had at length arrived. Luther struck the blow, and behold a rotten structure at once falls to pieces, and a new form begins to rise into existence. The prime force in this movement was a spiritual one ; the consciousness of the age had been, as was that of the Roman Empire at the time of the rise of Christianity, prepared to welcome and receive the life-giving truths of Redemption. The age had grown weary of the miserable apology for Christianity offered by Romanism. The dreary formality, absolute deadness of religion as then administered, ceased to satisfy the conscience and the wants of humanity. The rottenness of the whole then ecclesiastical constitution, the barefaced wickedness of those calling themselves the successors of St. Peter, and of the whole swarm of the Apostolic successors, called to high heaven for vengeance. Men felt that a religion of such a kind was a mere mockery. The age was prepared

for and wanted something better and more true. Hence the preaching of the gospel came with power; at the same time, the press, just then coming into action, served as an engine for disseminating the truth, and so the flame was fanned. The spirit of freedom reasserted itself, there was a revolt against the absolutism of the Papacy, both as a spiritual and as an ecclesiastical despotism.

In Protestantism, as now existing, we have the result of this revolution. Protestantism, as it is constituted at present, consists of fractions, each of them complete in itself; all taken together making up the unity of the whole. Each one of these fractions has its own peculiar form of church constitution. Of the great bodies constituting Protestantism, some have adopted the Episcopal system, others the Presbyterian, others again the Congregational. None have as yet again reached the unity or absolutism of the Papal constitution. Those who have adopted the Episcopal must necessarily gravitate towards the higher unity of the Papacy. Those who have adopted the Presbyterian must either disintegrate, becoming congregational, or must gradually tend to the closer unity of the Episcopacy. The congregational body naturally will gravitate to the more compact unity of Presbyterianism, and then, on, upwards. The tendency of the age, perhaps of all ages, is towards centralization and final absolutism; after which follows revolt, disintegration, and then a repetition of the same process. The Protestant bodies have but adopted organizations which have had already existence in the previous history of the Church at different stages of its evolution. Each of these bodies stands by itself, not organically connected with any other, therefore formally isolated. Each of these stages had its own peculiar cultus in harmony with the then present development of the Church. Thus, in the primitive stages, when the Church was weak in numbers, and poor in

worldly goods, the cultus of the Church was correspondent. But as the Christian community increased in numbers and in wealth, its cultus necessarily expanded and adapted itself to the tastes of those who were its members, until finally it had reached its climax in the grand cathedral architecture of Mediævalism, with its corresponding gorgeous ritual of worship. Necessarily such an evolution will take place, the cultus of a community will correspond and be in harmony with its æsthetic taste. A community which is ascetic will despise all culture; one that is simple will adopt plainness and simplicity in its cultus; but a community that is highly refined and wealthy will have a cultus that is elegant, and perhaps even gorgeous.

Protestantism adopts all these elements in adopting as its constitutional forms those of the different stages of the Church. It incorporates with them their corresponding cultus. Thus some of its bodies have a rigid and austere cultus. Its churches are bare houses, its ritual devoid of æsthetics. Others, though not so rigid, aim at simplicity, frowning down all that favors æstheticism; while others again have adopted a more liberal cultus, one which admits of all the culture of æsthetics, and which naturally leans towards Mediævalism. None, however, have yet reached the gorgeousness and magnificence of mediæval Catholicism. The cathedral is still the legitimate property of the Roman Catholic Church.

The constitutional form adopted by each of the various bodies constituting Protestantism was in each case accidental and but the result of circumstances. Thus English Protestantism, inasmuch as those in authority both in Church and State indorsed it, was enabled to retain its original constitution. In this case a radical revolution was unnecessary. The State led the way; the whole Church constitution, with its established Episcopacy, had only to be cut loose

from its connection with the Papacy, and to reform its formularies of doctrine and worship, and the change was effected. This was properly a reformation; upon the Continent the movement was rather of the nature of a revolt, or of a secession.

The Church of England retained, then, its whole constitutional form, and with it, a ritual and complete cultus corresponding to such a form of church establishment. The same thing occurred in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. The State and Church, in their then existing constitutional forms, moving together and indorsing the reform movements, the change was effected without any radical revolution. In Germany, Switzerland, and in France, however, it was different; here the former constitution, both in Church and State — in the Church entirely, and in the State, in Germany, almost so; in France, entirely so — resisted the movement, trying to put it down by force. Here, then, a revolt became a necessity. And as it happened, the revolt, as directed against the ecclesiastical constitution, was complete and successful. The Episcopacy remained firm in its opposition to the movement, so that a new ecclesiastical constitution must needs arise in order to embody this new spirit.

The Presbyterianism of Calvin, and the Lutheranism of Luther, give us this result. In the one case, the revolution was thorough; in the other, not so entire, for Lutheranism retained much of the cultus of its Roman antecedent. Up to the time of this revolt, the doctrine of passive obedience, both in Church and State, had been exclusively maintained. But the Reformation, springing out of a revolt of the Christian consciousness against ecclesiastical despotism, thenceforth established and legitimated such a position. The doctrine of passive obedience was met by the right of revolution, as being a legitimate one. In this movement the spirit of freedom asserted its rights, and now it is held that



crying abuses necessitate and authorize revolution, both in Church and State. The legitimate exercise of such a right must of course forever be a delicate matter, requiring a cool, deliberate judgment; nevertheless, that it is now a right has been established by the Protestant movement. It is but too easy to push this doctrine to an extreme, and so to attempt to justify with its sanction every causeless revolutionary movement; and such has already but too often been the case in the history of Protestantism, which now finds itself reduced by disintegration into numberless atomic denominational particles. But in the end a reaction will take place, and the movement will be towards unity and centralization; and no doubt along with such centralization, the doctrine of passive obedience will again begin to exercise a controlling influence upon the mind of the age. There is already a gravitation perceptible in that direction. The disadvantage of this system and the danger of the abuse of this doctrine are already beginning to exert a reactionary influence. Thus the same principles which are involved in the action and reaction of centrifugal and centripetal forces are applicable to the movements of society. First, it gravitates towards centralization, and as the absolutism becomes tighter, the tendency to fly off becomes stronger; and at length, when the absolutism becomes thorough, a despotism, the tendency to fly off becomes actualized, a fact, and we have revolt and secessions — we have Protestantism. Reverse the process, and you have the gradual involutionism of despotism, either in Church or State. Man is a free agent and will resist force. Left to himself, he will seek union and unity; but forced into it, or held in it, he will rebel, and seek to reattain his freedom.

Protestantism consisting of separate and independent societies, each having its own peculiar constitution, is without any outward unity. Provided each of these establish-

ments acknowledge the right of every other to its own particular form ; provided none of these bodies arrogate to itself, for its own form, a Divine right, as exclusive of the others, there might exist harmony and peace between them all, and Protestantism, though not united in form, would still remain one in spirit ; and as thus in unison, might work, each in its own harness, in promoting the common cause of Christianity, and in perfect harmony. This was, in fact, the state of things for some time after the Reformation, but was not destined to be of long continuance. The Papacy had claimed for itself, for many ages, the sanction of a Divine institution, and rested on this basis the duty of a passive obedience, as due from all its members. Protestantism denied this premise, rebelled against the conclusion, and established in opposition to it the right of revolution. Soon, however, we find this position of Romanism reappearing within the Protestant bodies, several undertaking to arrogate to themselves an express Divine right or Apostolic institution ; thus, of course, placing themselves in antagonism with the other Protestant bodies. Two bodies, each holding to such a doctrine, must in the end find themselves actually opposed to each other. Thus, instead of harmony, we soon find discord, nay, more, hostility. Furthermore, with this doctrine of the exclusive Divine right of any particular form of church constitution, returned that of passive obedience. And thus those bodies which refused to submit themselves to the authority of any such arrogant section were, and are still, provoked by being branded as schismatics. Thus there is a return to the position of Romanism, and Protestantism finds itself in a state of conflict. The true solution of the matter is, for Protestantism to maintain its original logical position, namely, that the form or organization which Christian society, or any portion of it, adopts, is simply a matter of expediency, not of doctrine ;

that the constitution of the Church, so far as it relates to its outward form, its manner of organization, is not the subject of revelation, nor as Apostolic was it intended that the form adopted by them was to be permanent. The constitution they adopted was suited to the times then being; it may not be so now. Each people and nation is to judge of this matter for themselves, and to adopt such an ecclesiastical constitution as may be best suited to its own peculiar genius and to the state of the times. With such a rational position, the doctrine of passive obedience must necessarily disappear.

The evolution of the Papal constitution is an accomplished fact. The climax of absolutism has been reached, and already there are manifest signs of a disintegration, of a reaction, manifest first in the defection of the Protestant bodies, and again repeating itself in the movement of the Old Catholics, as they style themselves, now taking place in Europe. The ecclesiastical constitution, by a gradual evolution, reached a turning-point in the absolutism, the ecclesiastical despotism of the Papacy. Another stage in this process has now begun. The process of disintegration is now powerfully at work within the Christian community. It began in the sixteenth century in the great defection of Protestantism. Within Protestantism itself the process is still being continued, sect after sect arising and claiming for itself independent existence. In the Roman Church the same process is going on, and the declaration of Papal Infallibility by the late Roman ecclesiastical council served only to strike another blow against the solidarity of that establishment. Its result is the Old Catholic movement in Germany, which ominously threatens the Papacy with another grand secession movement.

This disintegration must for a time continue; it is the reaction of the spirit of freedom against the bondage of

absolutism. Like all movements, it will be carried to an extreme, until at length its abuses being perceived, and men beginning to feel that division is weakness, will finally come to themselves, and the movement towards unity will begin to take place. There are evident indications that such a movement is already brewing. The weakness caused by disintegration and dismemberment is already being felt; and while it still continues to take place, yet there are also signs of a reaction already manifest in many of the great Protestant bodies. Thus it is with all human movements: the death of one force carries in it the resurrection of another, — the germ of the new is in the decaying seed of the old.

Such, in brief, is a sketch of the evolution of the ecclesiastical constitution of the Christian community of Western, and in most of its points of Eastern, Christendom, from its earliest rise, under the Apostolic administration down to the present times. Four stages there are in all: the Apostolic or primitive, the Episcopal, the Papal, and finally the Present; a mixed condition, presenting on the one hand the absolutism of the Papacy, and on the other the freedom, almost license, of Protestantism. What is to be the fifth stage in this process, Prophecy alone can declare; we can only conjecture. We can perhaps explain the past, but not predict the future; the problem is one too complicated for us to solve.

Evidently the Church, like the State, is a human establishment. Human nature, as moral and social, demands and constructs some form of body politic. As social and religious, human nature constructs some form of religious polity, which, had man not fallen, would have been, in its widest sense, the Church. As social and religious, but more as Christian, pervaded by that Divine life which emanates from Christ, the Head, and which flows into all

united to Him by faith; as Christian, human nature demands and constructs that ecclesiastical polity termed the Church. The constitutional form adopted in such a polity is a matter determined by man; there is none expressly laid down in Scripture. Man is just as in the case of the State, to choose and construct for himself. History, in recording the various changes which have taken place in the long process of the Hierarchical evolution, demonstrates that this is the true view of the subject — as an establishment, the Church is essentially human. Its life or Spirit is Divine; its form is human. Such is the only consistent Protestant position.

## CHAPTER II.

### SACERDOTALISM.

**W**ITH the infusion of the new wine of Christianity into the old bottles of the ancient world, a fermentation commenced. The old bottles of the ancient ecclesiastical establishments must burst and give way, to be succeeded by new forms, suited to that vigorous and ever-expanding force which had now been introduced within the world. Christianity required a form in which to manifest itself, and through which it could operate, internally upon itself, and externally upon the world. Such a form was adopted by the Apostles. It becomes necessary next to examine into the nature of this constitution. What, then, were the elements of this organization?

It being necessary, in the first place, that the Jewish and heathen mind and heart should be Christianized in order to the very existence of the Church, it is evident that the very first thing to be done was to promulgate the truths of Christianity, to preach the Gospel. This was the first great work of the Apostles, and must ever be the fundamental law of the Christian Church. Next, men having been Christianized, and living as a society placed under a constitution giving form to such an association, a reactionary work has to be wrought. For the new converts, though Christianized, are still ignorant as to Christian truth, are still sinners liable to transgress and even to lapse; therefore for such a society, teachers, prophets, and rulers are

necessary. To meet these necessities of this newly-organized society, the All-wise Spirit had prepared the necessary material. "And He gave some Apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ."

During the Apostolic age, the Apostles themselves, through their preaching and writings, were the fountains and source of all Christian truth. But as the Christian community expanded, there arose a necessity for a greater number of spiritual teachers. No teachers, however, could occupy the position of the Apostles; they alone received the truth immediately and intuitively; they alone were the source of inspired revelation. With them inspiration, in its highest sense, ceased. All who succeeded them were but expositors. The truth which they revealed having been appropriated by others, enabled them in turn to become teachers and preachers, and this was the method of procedure for the Church for all succeeding times.

The Apostles perceiving the need of the Christian community for a larger supply of instructors, at once applied themselves to meet it. In this community were men differing in gifts, some being adapted to teach, διδάνκαλοι; others to exhort and persuade, προφήται; and others again gifted with the art of ruling, πρεβύτεροι. In accordance with such differing adaptations, they made their selections. They appointed in each community some evangelists whose duty it should be to itinerate and preach the Gospel at large. Others they appointed to teach, that is, to explain, expound, and apply the revealed word to the consciences of their hearers. Others, who were peculiarly gifted naturally, and by the Spirit, with the powers of eloquence, who could move the affections, and could arouse the consciences even of unbelievers, who could at times even look into the future,

these prophets, were appointed by the Apostles to preach and address themselves to the unconverted who might attend the Christian assemblies. These preachers would be most useful in the conversion of men; the teachers, on the other hand, were best adapted to the edification of believers; and this difference has ever continued to exist in the Church. There has always been a class of preachers peculiarly fitted to the conversion of sinners, and another class best suited for the exposition of the Word. The first class is composed of men of enthusiastic temperament, who appeal in moving terms to the consciences of men, and move them by their intense earnestness. The second class consists of men of cooler, calmer temperament; men whose forte is knowledge, men of searching understanding, students of the Word, and therefore more fitted to the building up of the Church in the *γνώσις* of the Word. These are the prophets and the teachers of ancient and of modern times.

Another class was selected by the Apostles to be the rulers of the community, who were to judge of the proficiency of the teacher or prophet. These were the Presbyters or elders; they governed the community and were chosen to this office because of their adaptation for it. Whether these Presbyters were originally teachers as well as rulers does not certainly appear. But very soon, as the supernatural fell into the background, and the natural became more prominent, it appears that the Presbyter was at the same time the teacher, spiritual guide, or Pastor of the Christian community.

Thus, then, the Apostles met the rising necessities of the Church; they found the material ready at hand, being prepared by the Spirit, and springing out of the differing gifts and adaptations of individuals.

The Apostles themselves, in the first place, selected and appointed these various officers. But here, again, a change



was soon necessitated. St. Paul, as the Apostle to the Gentiles, founded the majority of the Christian churches among the Gentiles. Finding soon his inability to give his personal attention to meet the pressing demands of these various communities; being finally imprisoned, and consequently unable to attend to such matters at all, we find him soon commissioning two of his trustworthy disciples, Timothy and Titus, to take his place in the administration of this trust. To each of them he indites an epistle, to Timothy two, giving them explicit directions as to their manner of procedure in the performance of the trust, especially in the appointment of the various officers of the Church. Thus Timothy and Titus are expressly authorized by this Apostle to act in his place. But that any after them and besides them were so commissioned, does not appear. Theirs was a special case. They were appointed by St. Paul for peculiar reasons; first, because of the largeness of his field, and further, because of his frequent arrests and imprisonments, which excluded him from the superintendence of the churches.

With the Apostles and these especial Apostolic legates the Apostolic office ceased. Thenceforth the Church was left to select and appoint its own officers. The churches chose them, the Presbyters appear to have formally installed such officers elect in their respective offices. One other office was of Apostolic institution, namely, the diaconate. This appears to have been the first office created by the Apostles, it is therefore the oldest. This office, however, belongs to the administrative rather than to the spiritual branch of the Church. To the Deacon pertained the administration of the alms, and subsequently, the funds of the community, it being his especial duty to see that the Christian poor should be properly and justly supplied from such funds. The Deacon, however, if possessed of the ability, evidently, was entitled to preach. All these offices

were originally filled by the Apostles themselves. No doubt the Christian community electing and presenting the candidate, and the Apostles, having judged of his qualifications for the office, appointing him or rejecting him. This orderly condition of things was not of course immediate. The condition of the Christian community at the first, like that of all new societies, was chaotic; there was a great ferment and confusion; no organization; the material ready, but the organizing hand must first put it in order. Thus this order was a growth; the community was gradually reduced to order, and an organization adopted suited to the necessities of the new community. The fundamental principle of the new Christian community being that all Christians are equally, through the mediation of Jesus Christ, priests unto God, there could originally have been no line of demarcation between ministers and people. There was no such thing in the Christian Church as a formal priesthood. All Christians were equally Priests and kings unto God, and beside such a priesthood, there was none other. The facts of redemption appropriated, teach men, make them in fact conscious that they are now, through the mediation of Jesus Christ, equally related to God. One spirit of adoption fills all believing hearts, and the man who has appropriated Christ's redemption himself, feels that his whole life must be but a sacrifice, a free-will and thank-offering unto God, in gratitude for the grace of redemption. Therefore all believers are priests; and in any other sense there is none other than Christ himself, the great High Priest, the Mediator of this New Covenant, by whom we all have access, through one Spirit, into this grace wherein we stand and rejoice in the hope of the glory of God.

Equality in relation to God does not, however, do away with the difference of natural gifts. Men naturally differ in talents and in dispositions. Christian men do likewise.

The Holy Spirit does not change man's natural parts. He only sanctifies them, heightens their intensity and force sometimes, and so uses them for, and in His own service. There were charismata, peculiar and but temporary, intended for the benefit of the Church, at its first exhibition, such as speaking with tongues, working miracles and prophesying in its highest sense. These gifts have all passed away. But there are also lasting charismata, depending on the natural endowments of men. Endowments taken possession of by the Holy Spirit and made subservient thenceforth to the glory of the kingdom of Christ. These must always, therefore, be the basis of a selection to fill the various offices in the Church. Though, then, there is no such caste by right in the Church as the sacerdotal, there is a flock, a people, and there are pastors and teachers, and presbyters, and if the times so demand, bishops, and patriarchs, and ultimately Popes.

Here, then, let it be observed, we are at a point from which the whole sacerdotal system begins to be evolved. It has its root and origin in the idea of a priesthood as a spiritual caste. Taking this term in its Jewish, or even its heathen acceptation, a priest, strictly speaking, is a mediator, one who, as man's representative, stands between God and man; who offers gifts and sacrifices for man to God. He is therefore the mediator through whom man approaches God; and on the other hand, he is the medium through which God communicates his grace to man. This was the idea that was destined to take possession of the Christian mind. Out of it was evolved that whole mediæval sacerdotal despotism, which finally conquered the Church, and from which it has never yet escaped. Even Protestantism is still in bondage under it, to a great extent—almost entirely, we may truly say.

This idea of priesthood as mediating between God and

man was the prominent one of the Old Testament dispensation, and was, though not so well defined nor understood, widely diffused throughout the heathen world. It could not then be expected to vanish at once, but would fight hard to regain its former supremacy before it would be suppressed.

The Christian consciousness through the appropriation of the truths of Redemption, in a vivid manner was at first entirely free. All Christians felt themselves through the mediation of Jesus Christ reconciled to God and restored to communion with Him. The Christian consciousness at first, then, felt no need of a Mediator other than Jesus Christ, and was in no danger of receiving the Jewish sacerdotal idea into itself. But soon the appropriation of the truths of Redemption became less vital; the Christian consciousness of Redemption less vivid, and then the previously dominant Jewish idea began again to assert itself and to claim a readmission into the Christian consciousness. There was a reaction, and the idea of a priesthood began again to assert its power.

Again; the reascendency of the sacerdotal idea is attributable to another cause. Religion among the Jews and the Gentiles, in its whole theory and in public worship, its highest act, was thought to consist only in acts, acts often devoid of any indwelling spirit, simply mechanical, legal acts. Religion was a system of externalities, a routine whereby God, or the gods, were considered propitiated and served. It was not a spirit which should pervade the whole life, so that every thought, word and deed, having reference to God, should in a certain sense be a religious act. This was a later: the Christian idea. Religion was considered as something extra, to be put on and assumed on certain times and occasions. The whole life might be a godless one,—God might be an outcast from the mind, so far as He is a controlling influence in the consciousness,—and yet by

a certain round of acts, as, by presenting gifts and offerings, by paying respect to days and feasts, the religious consciousness was satisfied, and this was considered being religious. It was the priest's duty to attend to religion; the people were only occasionally to recognize their God. This routine idea of religion, taken hold of by the great philosopher of China, was carried out to its full extent. With him manners were religion; to be courteous was to be religious, not according to the Christian principle, because courtesy is the will of God; but in itself. Confucius refers seldom to God, whom he seems to apprehend after a peculiar manner, designating Him, Heaven. Religion, according to Confucius, does not spring out of the consciousness of the relation in which man stands with respect to God. No; religion consists in a certain form of deportment; in respect for the ancients. It springs out of the relation of man to man; is good manners. Etiquette in all its relation to public and private life, is the form, the expression, the manifestation of religion. Not that he would separate the soul of etiquette from its expression and make it untrue and hypocritical; on the contrary, he teaches the spirit of etiquette, as well as manners, its expression. But in this, in true sincere good manners, according to him, lies the essence of religion. He loses sight of God, making religion spring out of man's relation to man; wherein is practical pantheism. The Jew and heathen would make religion consist in a round of religious observances, in a religious etiquette. Confucius, even with his pantheism, is nearer the truth. He at least requires spirit; the Jew and Greek, only form.

It is this theory which makes religion a mere routine, a system of etiquette; which makes worship a mere round of acts and ceremonies. It is to this externalization of religion, that is mainly attributable the relapse of the Christian consciousness, under the dominion of the idea of

the priesthood. Add to this the loss of that consciousness of communion with God which is dependent upon the appropriation of the truths of Redemption; these two things taken together constitute the reason of that relapse of the Christian Church to the Old Testament position, which the Church soon underwent. With this relapse came in the whole sacerdotal system, both in its Jewish and heathen significance. The Church, instead of a spiritual society, became a temporal one. Presbyters became priests, and the rites of the Church became mere magical ceremonies. Of course, this change was not effected immediately, the process was that of evolution; the evolution having its origin in an idea, which although not formally enunciated, yet as an influence, a sort of spiritual atmosphere, pervaded the mind of the age.

No idea receives its definition at its origin. First as a subtle influence it pervades the mind of the age, influencing it, and moulding it, in its direction; not until it has triumphed, having brought existing institutions under its bondage, and thus eliminated itself, can it be brought before the consciousness as a definite idea. Thus it was with the sacerdotal system. It existed in its realization under Judaism, and to a certain extent under Paganism. Christianity for a time dissipated it; but soon it returns, pervading as a subtle influence the Christian consciousness, until again having realized itself it became enunciated and boldly proposed as the theory of the Christian Church, in the pseudo-Isidorean Decretals.

The first thing which we can observe as a step in the gradual realization of this idea, is the line of demarcation which was soon drawn between the clergy and the laity. Before this there was no such distinction. The clergy was not a distinct spiritual caste; they were only the ministers of the Christian society; its officers; its functionaries, or organs.

The prime element in the Christian Church was the people; the ministers of the Church were really what that name implies. None but the Apostles were properly the ambassadors of Christ; none who succeeded them in the office of preaching, stood in such a relationship to God and Christ. The preacher of the Christian community had the Scripture as his text-book; it was his duty to apprehend and to appropriate the truths there revealed. He had no direct inspiration enabling him, like an Apostle, to reveal new truths; he must confine himself to Revelation; and the people, the Church at large, was to determine whether or not he enunciated the truth. The preacher was therefore responsible to the Church; was selected and appointed as its organ to any particular office. The idea that there were two such distinct orders in the Church as clergy and laity did not originally exist. It was the first step made by the sacerdotal idea in the progress of its realization.

With this doctrine of two classes within the Church followed that of there being two modes of life — the spiritual and the secular. And then the necessity of the clergy withdrawing themselves from all contact with the world, and devoting themselves exclusively to a so-called spiritual life. Hence the doctrine of celibacy for the clergy; hence asceticism, monachism, and that whole system of life which aimed at a certain separation from the world. And on the other hand, the laity being the secular body, could only lead a secular or worldly life. They were not the spirituals; and consistently with this external way of looking at things, the life of the laity must necessarily be worldly; and their religion soon came to consist in mere forms and observances. The spiritual domain was made over entirely to the clergy. This separation of orders, and consequently of modes of life, gave rise subsequently to great misunderstanding and error in the Church, and is at the bottom of what we find after-

wards in the monastic orders as to various grades in the religious life, and ending in what was known as counsels of perfection.

Upon this separation of clergy and laity, soon followed that of presbyter and bishop. Down to the time of Tertullian, who marks a transition period in the history of the Church, this distinction does not seem to have been clearly observed. "Irenæus, who preceded Tertullian, uses the names bishop and presbyter as wholly synonymous. Tertullian also calls the presiding officers of the Christian community by the common name of '*Seniores*,' including under this title both bishops and presbyters."\* With this separation began that struggle for power between presbyters and bishops, which for a long time proved so disastrous to the peace and welfare of the Church.

And now the sacerdotal idea made another step towards its realization. The theory of the Jewish Hierarchical system which had hitherto hung suspended over the Church, now descended upon it, and thenceforth the Christian ministry assumes the power and adopts the name and functions of the officers under the Jewish Hierarchical system; thus the presbyters now begin to be regarded as priests, and the spiritual orders as Levites. Already we find Tertullian styling the bishops *summus sacerdos*. Thus the whole Jewish Hierarchical system passes over and becomes engrafted upon the Christian Church. Thenceforth the Church is to be regarded in the light of the Old Testament Theocracy.

The grand central idea under the Old Testament system, is that of the priesthood. In this office it was represented that man needed a mediator, who should mediate between God and himself. This was the teaching and meaning of the Old Testament sacerdotal system. It pointed to that

\* Neander's Hist. of the Church, Vol. I., page 192.



high spiritual priesthood to be exercised by Jesus Christ, the end of all those Old Testament types. Those who benefited by this mediation understood all this; but those who failed to use Christ and His mediation, who failed to appropriate the truths of Redemption, misunderstood it. They still remained at the Old Testament standpoint, and like the subjects of that dispensation, still felt the need of a mediating priesthood. Hence they readily yielded themselves to the Jewish system, and thus the sacerdotal idea became firmly lodged in the Christian consciousness.

The priest, as the mediator between God and man, between Christ and His Church, necessarily must be regarded as the channel through which God dispenses His grace. He is the medium through which God wrought in His Church. The rites of His Church were the mediums through which in turn, he, the priest, wrought upon the people. Hence baptism and the Lord's supper became, in a peculiar sacerdotal sense, the means of Grace. Through baptism the priest, or God, through the agency of the priest, infused the Holy Spirit within the baptized soul, and brought it within the pale of salvation. In the Lord's supper, the priest, by means of an incantation uttered over the bread and wine, transformed it into the very body and blood of Christ, — thus bringing Christ down from heaven again, and repeating the incarnation, or rather impanation, and the sacrifice of the Redeemer. In fine, the rites of the Christian Church became really magical rites; and no one could be saved without permission of the priests in charge of this matter. And thus the Church, having resolved itself into a mixture of Judaism and paganism, yielded itself absolutely to the bondage of the sacerdotal idea.

The Christian Church, in order to its existence as such, must have for its substance Christian men, men who have appropriated the truths of Redemption; who have, by means

of the mediation of Jesus Christ through faith in His blood, been consciously reconciled to God and restored to communion with Him. Such men have no longer any use for a human mediator or priest; they themselves are the only human priests; their lives, in view of the mercies of God, are offered as a thank-offering to Him, holy and acceptable in His sight. In such a Christian consciousness there is no need of priests, and no such system could ever take root. But when Christian men are not reconciled to God through the mediation of Jesus Christ, then very certainly the sacerdotal principle will make itself felt; in such a soil it will find lodgment; there it will grow and bring forth its fruit. This is just what happened in the Christian Church. It begun in the Spirit; it lost the Spirit, but retained the form. There was a form, an organization; but now it did not meet the wants of its members. Therefore it relapsed. It retained the semblance of itself, but appropriated the system adapted to its wants. Its preachers ceased to be such, and became priests; its sacraments ceased to be such, and became mere magical rites. The Christian Church had become a Jewish-pagan institution.

The Christian Church, in its beginnings, had to meet, and, if it was to be a success, to overcome an hitherto dominant idea. Among the Jews, it came in conflict with the Old Testament sacerdotal system, and among the pagans the same system in its connection with the State. The idea of a priesthood was an universal one. It was therefore but natural and to be expected, that such a familiar mode of thought would in the end have a powerful effect in moulding the Christian consciousness of the succeeding ages. As soon as the first sudden, even miraculous effect of Christianity began to die away; as soon as the Church recruited from those who were imperfectly converted, who had not appropriated Redemption in its power, but only as a

religious system ; as soon as the Church became constituted to a great extent of such material, so soon a reaction began to be experienced. The form was ahead of the Spirit ; was adapted to a Spiritual, truly Christian society ; when, in fact, that society was in the main worldly, unchristian, and often pagan at heart. Thus the Church relapsed to a position adapted to such a state of things. What occurs in the religious experience of the individual, occurred in the history of the Church. At first the work of Grace produces freedom and joy in the new believer ; but soon this fades away, and he enters upon the uphill work of being grounded in the faith. At this point there is ever great danger of a relapse. The new convert is always in danger of falling into some error, of adopting a formal, or a legal, or some other system of religion according to the former bent of his mind. Just so in the history of the Church : at first all was peace and joy in believing. "The multitude of those that believed were of one heart and one soul, continuing daily with one accord in the temple ; did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favor with all the people." But soon all this vanished. The ideal Church presented itself but a moment and then vanished away, not to appear again ; certainly not until hereafter. Soon confusions and divisions and doubts and heresies and schisms began to harass and to perplex the new-born community. And then, from without, persecution added its pressure. The Christian community began now to feel the difficulties of its situation, having to contend against all the forces of the hitherto dominant powers of darkness. The most effective way by means of which this power of evil operates upon human nature is through the medium of ideas. Man is necessarily, in the end, the slave of his ideas ; he cannot escape their power. The Spirit of evil, in his organized dominion over this

world, governs men chiefly by means of ideas. He impregnates, as it were, the moral and intellectual atmosphere with these ideal germs; man breathes them, becomes inoculated, and in turn propagates them, until they take hold upon the age, and are realized as facts in history. Thus it was with this sacerdotal idea. In its day it had its uses and therefore was good. But now that Christ, the true spiritual High Priest, had come and opened heaven to all believers, this idea was out of date. But the human mind is conservative, and tenaciously clings to what it possesses. Moreover, it must cling to this idea until it appropriate the work of the true Mediator; for until then man will make for himself a mediator. Thus this idea must ever find a soil in which it can lodge itself successfully; therefore, in this instance, the work of the powers of evil was not a difficult one. It was easy enough under such circumstances to draw the Church again back under the dominion of the sacerdotal system.

The Jewish Church ought to have been gladly awaiting the coming of the true spiritual Messiah, and the setting up of His spiritual kingdom; but it was not. Dragged down by the powers of darkness, they had as a Church become hopelessly involved in worldliness and pride. They looked for and wanted only a temporal kingdom, and so failed to recognize and bow themselves to the King of Glory. So the Christian Church ought to have remained satisfied in its enjoyment of the spiritual kingdom of Christ, and with Him as its only Priest and Mediator. But it was not; failing through unbelief to enter into that kingdom, it misunderstood it, and led captive by the powers of darkness, submitted itself to the yoke of the previously dominant sacerdotal idea and system.

It is a melancholy fact, obvious to any one who will observe its history, that the Christian Church cannot for any

long period occupy its true position, as the manifestation of the kingdom of Christ in the world. It never long sustains its character as a spiritual institution, but soon deteriorates, becoming a merely temporal, worldly organization. It is true, there are times of reaction, when the Church energetically throws off this element; but it is only a spasmodic action, soon there is a relapse. Spiritual numbness creeps over it again, and it sinks back into its former deadness and worldliness. The Christian spirit has not yet, as it seems, been able to overcome the deadly gravitation exercised by the powers of darkness. Perhaps this will all be changed some of these days, and it cannot be denied but that prophecy seems to warrant such an expectation. But be that as it may, up to this time the Christian Church has found it impossible for any length of time to occupy its rightful position in this world. To counteract the inertia of worldliness in human nature seems to present a formidable obstacle to the powers of the world to come. The sacerdotal idea in its internal and external relations, in its final evolution as a religious and as an ecclesiastical system, has yet to be overcome.

The Hierarchical system as an idea exists in full force within the pale of Protestantism; we say, as an idea, for up to the present time it has not been able fully to realize itself. As an idea it seems, however, to be propagating itself, and has already taken possession of a large portion of the mind of Protestantism, and is now strenuously exerting itself in order to its realization. Protestantism began with dethroning the Hierarchy. Its fundamental proposition is that through the mediation of Jesus Christ all believers become priests unto God. There is but one Mediator between God and man — the man Christ Jesus. This, we say, is the fundamental dictum of the Reformation. With the establishment of this doctrine the whole Hierarchy, with

its swarm of propitiating officers, collapsed. Protestantism had no place for priests under its system; and with its establishment, the very name of priest, for a time, was forced to hide itself in obscurity. The priest became a Presbyter, a preacher of the gospel, a minister of the Church. But this state of things did not long exist; with the failure to appropriate vitally the truths of Redemption follows the loss, in the believer, of the consciousness of Redemption, and of his priestly relation, through Jesus Christ, to God. At once, then, the old idea begins to rear its head again, and gradually, almost imperceptibly, it takes root in the consciousness of the Church, and begins to manifest its presence. With it, and in its train, returns the whole system of priestly mediation, and soon the name and the office of priest becomes firmly rooted once more in the consciousness of the age. "When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places seeking rest, and findeth none. Then, saith he, I will return into my house, from whence I came out; and when he is come he findeth it empty, swept and garnished. Then goeth he and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself, they enter in and dwell there, and the last state of that man is worse than the first." "Even so," concludes the Master, "shall it be to this wicked generation." A law this is in the individual and in the age; an evil of any kind, whether of practice or of doctrine, an error, routed, will inevitably return and seek again to lodge itself in the consciousness of the age. And if it succeeds the danger is even greater than it was originally.

The sacerdotal system, routed from its stronghold by the power of truth in the sixteenth century, having since wandered about seeking rest and finding none, returning to its once home, the mind of man, finds it, through the power of Gospel truth, swept and garnished. Gathering resolution,

it enters in, and, melancholy to relate, has again taken possession, and is now struggling vigorously to pervade entirely the consciousness of the age. So far, it has been but partially successful. The sacerdotal system is by no means as yet a fact within the Protestant Church. It is an idea, a doctrine, struggling for its absolute realization.

This system, as at present existing, offers itself in its most advanced form for acceptance, as the doctrine of Apostolic succession. This is the form and the formula which the sacerdotal system, in at least one section of the Protestant Church, has seen fit for the present to adopt. An evolution of the meaning of this formula would give us all the elements contained in the Roman sacerdotal system. Under this system it is maintained that all the powers, spiritual and ecclesiastical, of the kingdom of Christ have by Him, through his Apostles, been committed into the hands of a certain class of officers appointed by the Apostles to be their successors in the Apostolic office; that such Apostolic successors have in their turn handed down their trust and powers, by means of manual contact, to their successors; and that thus there is an unbroken chain in the succession to the Apostolic office down to the present time; that prelates or bishops, therefore, sit in the Apostolic chair and administer Apostolic powers. It is held that to these prelates is committed originally the power to bind and to loose; to grant absolution, or to bind sin upon the conscience. All powers, &c., in the Church, both spiritual and ecclesiastical, it is held, reside originally in them, as the immediate successors of the Apostles. The bishops, under this system, are to be regarded just as the Apostles were, as the foundation and custodians of the Church. They are to be considered as the living representatives of the Apostles. Moreover, it is held, that just as the Apostles ordained and commissioned elders to go and preach

the Gospel and to administer the rites of the Church, so the bishops, their successors, are to continue to do. The presbyters are but their agents, through whom they act upon the body of the Church. And since all power is confined originally within their hands, none, it is held, can lawfully or effectually exercise spiritual or ecclesiastical functions unless they have been commissioned by this Episcopacy. No ordination is valid, nothing is conferred in the Church but through the Episcopal manual contact. The Holy Ghost is confined within the limits of the Episcopal bench, so far as He is the Spirit of the Church. The Episcopacy is, then, a hierarchy, an ecclesiastical aristocracy, and an oligarchy. Romanism gives us the sacerdotal system under the conditions of a monarchy, and of absolutism. The Episcopacy, as understood by the dogma of Apostolic succession, contains the same system under the form of an ecclesiastical aristocracy, or an oligarchy. The Pope is the successor of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, under the one system; under the other, the bishops are the successors of all the Apostles, the lords of the Church. Thus, under the sanction of this dogma of an Apostolic succession, we have the hierarchical system of Rome thoroughly resuscitated; only instead of a monarchical we have an oligarchical ecclesiastical despotism established. In the one case, the Pope is the vicar of Christ; in the other, the Episcopal order is the vicar of the Apostles. Within the circle of this order, all the spiritual powers pertaining to the kingdom of Christ are held primarily to reside; therefore, as a corollary, outside of the Episcopacy there is no Church, just as under the Papacy, outside of it, there is none. If this be the true view of the Church system, evidently the whole body of believers is absolutely dependent upon the Episcopal order for all spiritual life and power. If the Episcopacy be the depository of all the powers of Christ's king-



dom, then it is as broad as Christianity, and consequently outside of it there is no Christianity. The people, and the ministers of the people, the lower orders of the clergy, are the absolute slaves of the Episcopacy. It has become the head and corner-stone of the Church, and not Jesus Christ. The difference between the Papacy and Episcopacy, as thus understood, is only in name. The only difference is, in the one, the Pope is the Rock upon which Christ is held to build His Church; in the other, it is the Episcopal order that is thus regarded. At the bottom of the whole system lies the doctrine of the necessity of a mediator between God and man, other than Jesus Christ. Here arises the order of the priesthood with its whole paraphernalia of a mediatory sacramentarianism. This is the first stage in the evolution of the sacerdotal hierarchy. Next follows the Episcopal system, under which the power of mediation is gradually restricted, being drawn within the limits of the Episcopal order, which becomes thenceforth regarded as the fountain and source of all such power. This usurpation being once established, the Church falls completely under the dominion of the Episcopacy, and becomes co-extensive only with it. And here, no doubt, the doctrine of Apostolic succession had its origin. It was introduced in order to sanction an usurpation which was already a fact in the ecclesiastical constitution. The third stage in the process began in the gradual evolution of the Papal constitution, and became a fact in the final absolutism of the Papacy. The powers which the Episcopacy had usurped, and then sanctioned by means of an imported doctrine, were gradually restricted and drawn within the circle of its dominion by the Papacy, which, in turn, became the fountain, source, and depository of all spiritual power. And this fact, in its turn, becomes fastened upon the Church by means of a doctrine. Upon Peter and his successors, as the verse in

Scripture is interpreted, Christ has founded His Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Thus the people first become tributary to the priesthood, then to the Episcopacy, and finally to the Papacy. And each position in this advance is sanctioned and fastened upon the Church as a Divine institution, under the alleged sanction of Holy Scripture. Thus it becomes a doctrine.

The Reformation was a revolt against the sacerdotal system; but it has not been entirely successful. In some cases it threw the Church back upon its primitive condition, and so far as concerns form, in a safer condition; in others, only upon its antecédent Episcopal constitution. With the revival of the sacerdotal doctrine, which must ever appear with the decline of what is truly Christian life, with the loss of the consciousness of Redemption and of the truth of the universal priesthood of believers, — with the revival of this doctrine follows in the Episcopal constitution, that also of the Apostolic succession; for without such a dogma, the Episcopal order could not maintain that ascendancy which it is too apt to covet, and to arrogate to itself. So far the Reformed Church has maintained its independence against the Papacy; but if this dogma of Apostolic succession is to triumph, there is great danger that we shall become the mere slaves of an Episcopacy. Thus we shall have retained the whole sacerdotal system, and only have changed an ecclesiastical monarchy for an oligarchy. This will be the only probable result of the Reformation, so far as concerns one large section of Protestantism.

The hierarchical or sacerdotal system, as we find it now in the Episcopal branch of the Reformed Church, is complete as an outward, visible religious system. The Christian community, failing to a great extent to use the only one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, as its great High Priest; failing within the sphere of con-

sciousness to appropriate to itself the atonement made by Him once for all for the sins of the world, and so to attain peace and reconciliation with God ; failing thus to use Jesus Christ, thus offered as the propitiation for its sins ; moreover, failing to use Him in His intercessory and kingly functions as the immediate administrator to the consciousness of all the blessings of His grace ; failing thus to use Christ the invisible High Priest for what he offers Himself to us, the Christian consciousness, if indeed it can be so called, feels the necessity for some other mediator between itself and its God, it is not at peace with God ; yet it longs for such a consciousness ; and to obtain this, it must have a priest and a sacrifice. It feels its weakness, moreover ; it wants grace ; the priest must meet this want also.

Such, then, being the wants of the Christian community, the Episcopacy or the Papacy undertakes to supply them. Each of these systems claim to be the channel, and the only one, through which the grace of God flows, and can be rightly and successfully administered. This position is based, in the Papacy, upon the express Word of God, as it is claimed, as when it is said, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church," &c., the text which is cited as a proof one for this position. In the Episcopacy, Scripture, too, is cited in proof, though, it must be confessed, not so directly in point. Apostolic usage, however, is the proof most relied upon. Timothy and Titus are regarded in the light of successors of the Apostles, and an unbroken line either through them, or through other bishops, is claimed to extend to the present time. Here, then, in this line, it is asserted, are to be found all the powers of the Kingdom of Grace. Here are those who alone are able to appoint and commission the subordinate ministers in the Church. Here are the true Apostolic vicars authorized to bind and to loose, who have primarily in their hands the keys of

death and Hades, who alone are able therefore to commission others to do likewise. Thus, one, who has been ordained by the Apostolic succession, is supposed to possess supernatural powers. In the first place he can bind and loose, that is, can attach sin or its punishment upon the individual; or he can absolve, and thus release from punishment. None but those who have passed from under the hands of the so-called Apostolic successor are considered as imbued with these powers. Moreover, thus legitimately ordained, the priest is held to have the power of regenerating. Thus, in baptism, he is able to wash from sin and to infuse the Holy Spirit. A germ, it is said, is planted in this operation, which, in due time, will germinate and grow up into maturity. It is said baptism, coming from the hands of one ordained by the Apostolic succession, implants then the Holy Ghost in germ, and none but the priest thus authenticated can perform this magical operation. But the priest's power extends beyond this. He is able to repeat the incarnation, or rather to perform the miracle of an impanation of the Son of God, and to reproduce His flesh and blood upon the altar. By a certain formula or incantation, the priest of the Apostolic succession can bring Christ down from heaven and reproduce the very body and blood of Christ upon a communion-table. With this food he can feed the flock, who are thus enabled, by faith in this incantation, to partake of the very body and blood of Christ; and none but the priest thus commissioned, it is held, can perform this operation. Thus the sacerdotalism of Christianity is, as a system, complete. Primarily, all its functions reside in the priesthood. They have, however, in the dogma of the Apostolic succession, been all monopolized by the bishops, who consider themselves as the depositaries of all such sacerdotal powers in the Church, having been appointed to that position by Christ and his Apostles, and

who dole them out to whom they will through the ordinance of ordination. Sacerdotalism, which properly has no place in the Christian Church, except in that all are believers and priests unto God, has fastened itself upon the Church, and the Episcopacy has monopolized all its powers to itself, grounding its usurpation upon Apostolic sanction; thus a hierarchy has established itself, and is re-attempting to bring the Christian consciousness, and with it the Christian community, into bondage under it. Sacerdotalism and the hierarchy are things distinct: the hierarchy uses sacerdotalism as its foundation. It uses man's bondage to the principle of mediation, in order to establish itself as a spiritual despotism.

The sacerdotal system, as a fact, is not, however, confined within the limits of the Apostolic succession. It is widely prevalent, widely beyond the limits of the Episcopacy. The Papacy and Episcopacy are, after all, but forms, under which the sacerdotal principle manifests itself. The sacerdotal principle is entirely distinct from either of them, and, although it may serve as an useful basis upon which to build either of these systems, still it may exist under other constitutional forms.

The sacerdotal principle is a psychical one. It is a demand of human nature as religious, and as conscious of its sinfulness. It springs out of man's sense of his inability to stand just before God, and of his need, therefore, of a Mediator and of a sacrifice. And so long as men fail to come into immediate contact, and into friendly communion with God, through faith in Jesus Christ, they will feel the need of a priesthood.

Few seem to be able to understand that when they want anything they must go at once directly to God, through the invisible Mediator Jesus Christ. Few can understand, that when they want peace and a consciousness of reconciliation

with God, they have nothing to do ; but to feed on Christ, presented in the Word, already offered for the sins of the world, by faith with thanksgiving. Few, we say, understand how to use Christ as the Mediator, and learn to require nothing to intervene between God and themselves. We communicate with God, through prayer, He communicates with us through His Word and by means of His Spirit ; this is the state of things which believing in Christ necessitates.

This being the state of the case, now, under Protestantism, as is evident to any observer, the sacerdotal system is not dead, by no means so, nor is it confined to Episcopacy. There are priests, though not in name in other Protestant denominations, besides the Episcopacy of England and America. Religion as it is now understood is sacerdotal very generally, instead of appropriating Redemption and consciously becoming priests and kings unto God ; instead of, as sinners conscious of peace with God, through faith in Christ, offering themselves, souls and bodies, a living sacrifice, a thank-offering to God for the grace of Redemption, Christians under the thralldom of sacerdotalism are still using the Church and its offices as means whereby they are to attain to such a condition, that is to say, they are still fully under the power of the sacerdotal system. Men talk about others being priest-ridden, and fondly imagine that they themselves are absolutely free from such a bondage ; but they only deceive themselves. Human nature cannot do without the priesthood. It is true, men have sometimes, galled by the tyranny imposed upon them by an arrogant Hierarchy, fiercely revolted against it, and have temporarily hurled it from the throne of its ascendancy. But such efforts are but spasmodic and are short-lived. France revolted against the papal Hierarchy and it went down in blood and ashes ; and not long since, the same thing was repeated, and the same Hierarchy

felt the mad fury of the Commune, and again went down in blood and ashes. This is but the revolt of the human being against the tyranny of the Hierarchy, which after all is but a result. The Hierarchy is an ecclesiastical and spiritual despotism constructed upon the conscience of humanity, and having for its basis, in human nature, the principle of sacerdotalism. Sacerdotalism is, as we have said, a psychical necessity; man takes advantage of this, and in the priesthood, under the Papal or any other constitution, it matters not, constructs a spiritual despotism, the most galling and grinding of all conceivable forms of tyranny. Under the Papal constitution this despotism reached its perfection; and in the Episcopacy, under cover of the dogma of the Apostolic succession, it is gravitating towards the same result. And even apart from either of these constitutions, sacerdotalism may succeed in establishing a despotism, as it has done in Geneva, under the great Calvin; as it has done in Scotland under the leadership of John Knox; and as it is still tending to do within the Presbyterian and Methodist denominations. Mankind sometimes feeling its bondage revolts against this; but since human nature cannot remain for any length of time Atheistic, inevitably, soon, again, he will return under the yoke. Mankind revolts against the Hierarchy; but it is the sacerdotalism that holds him bound, and it is this felt necessity of his nature that makes men at such times hate that order of men which, taking advantage of this human necessity and weakness, use it selfishly for their advancement. The Roman Church understands the principle of sacerdotalism, and has ever used it skilfully. The only possible way of escaping permanently from the despotism of a sacerdotal Hierarchy is by satisfying the psychical necessities of sacerdotalism. We need never expect to see humanity free from the shackles of such a system, until it becomes thoroughly Christianized; until all

men learn to recognize the one Mediator, and from the bottom of their consciousness to acknowledge that there is but one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, and that He is the propitiation for the sins of the world. And if this is never to be, then the despotism of a sacerdotal Hierarchy is to continue to the very end.

No country or people can escape the domination of such a sacerdotal hierarchy—it exists everywhere. What system more thorough than that of the East, over which the Grand Lama presides? and the Pope, who is he but the Grand Lama of the West? The Grand Lama of Thibet is infallible—a god—and the Pope now can share his honors with him. There is now an Eastern and a Western sacerdotal god. Then there is the Mikado of Japan, another Pope, another blossom of this same sacerdotal principle. The principle contained in sacerdotalism is co-extensive with the human race; the form which the hierarchy, administering it, takes, differs; but since the tendency of all human establishments, and especially of spiritual ones, is towards unity, and therefore despotism, in these Lamas and Mikados and Popes and Bishops (as understood under the dogma of Apostolic succession), we have before us a final result, the despotism of various ecclesiastical systems, all of which live and move and have their being in the principle of sacerdotalism.



## CHAPTER III.

### CHRISTIANITY AND ÆSTHETICS; OR, THE CHRISTIAN CULTUS.

**T**HOUGH **T**HOUGH vents itself in "the word," first, inwardly in the mind, as an idea, then outwardly, as the word spoken or written. Feeling vents itself primarily in the inarticulate cry, and thus in many cases exhausts and satisfies itself. But feelings are, in kind, perhaps infinite; in depth, they are profound; in their demands in order to their satisfaction, never ending. Feelings are of the nature of the infinite; they are insatiable, always demanding more. Feelings agitate the soul, and move it to its lowest depths. Poetry, music, art in all its branches, is but the expression, the language, the vent of feeling. The religious feeling is the most profound, the most intense, that moves within our nature. Its yearning is sometimes agony to endure. The awful piles of Egypt; the magnificent temples of Greece, and the gloomy, solemn grandeur of the Mediæval cathedral, are but the language and expression of this religious feeling. And even all this is but inadequate — the religious feeling still demands more.

Poetry, what is it but feeling, palpitating, breathing itself out through the medium of the word? And music, what is it but the sensitive soul speaking to us through the language of sound, which naturally is its own; through which naturally it breathes and speaks itself out?

Painting, sculpture, architecture, all are but the forms,

the language, which the sensitive spirit uses, through which to express its inspiration, and breathe itself out. But through none of them can the inspired spirit ever perfectly express itself. Infinitely beyond its power of expression, is the spirit's power of feeling. Something must ever remain inarticulate—a yearning; profound, sad, because apparently forever it must remain unexpressed, unsaid. Religion solemnizes and, at the same time, intensifies the feelings. The consciousness of a God and of the sin and guilt which hang heavily upon us, while it makes man a religious being, at least, fearing God, makes him at the same time more grave and sober; it solemnizes human nature, and makes it conscious, more or less, of the awfulness of its situation. Eternity, immortality, a judgment impending, a God the Judge of quick and dead, these, the main facts of religion, once received within the consciousness, will have a powerful effect. Man thus is sobered; his feelings taking a religious tinge become deepened and intensified.

The religious spirit once aroused seeks to express and give vent to its feelings. Poetry, music, and the fine arts, the language of the feelings, are the mediums through which alone this can be effected; each of them will then, in turn, become the form, in which the religious spirit will embody itself, and thus see to express its yearnings. Poetry, music, and the fine arts are, then, legitimately the language of the religious spirit, and, just as in the first place, it uses the word written or spoken to give vent to its thoughts, so, too, it uses these mediums through which to breathe out itself, and give expression to its feelings.

The doctrines of a religion give us the utterances of the religious spirit with relation to thought. The cultus of a religion, gives us the utterances of the same spirit with relation to feeling. The doctrines are expressed in “the word.” The cultus is expressed in poetry, music, painting, sculpture,

and the arts. The cultus of a religion is, then, religious feeling expressed in the language of poetry, music, and of the other fine arts.

The fine arts, under which head we include poetry and music, being the language and expression of all the feelings, are broader in their comprehension than is the cultus of religion. They are the language of all feeling, the human cultus. A cultus as applied to religion is but the language of religious feeling. We may therefore have poetry, or music, or architecture, without any religious feeling. We may have the language of joy or of sorrow and sadness and of gloom; we may have all these feelings expressing themselves in poetry or music without any reference to religious feeling. The fine arts are, then, the genus, the universal language of feeling. There is a general cultus more or less extensive, and a particular cultus, more confined. The cultus of a religion is the species, the language of one, the religious feeling. The fine arts, then, used as a vehicle through which to express religious feeling, become the cultus of a religion.

It is as natural to man to feel as it is to think; there is a form for feeling, just as there is for thought. All can comprehend the word, the form of thought, and as a general rule, mankind understands, or rather responsively feels, poetry, music, and the other fine arts, the form of feeling. But thought embodied in the word, comprehensible to one mind, may not be so to another; just so in the fine arts, a style of poetry or music which appeals to and is appreciated by some, excites no response in the heart of others. There are gradations in the æsthetic sensibilities, just as there are in the sphere of mind. The thought of one mind may be incomprehensible to another. The music or poetry of one heart may be unfelt and unappreciated by another; it may find no responsive echo, awaken no sympathetic feelings in

the breast of another. The reason is, because the æsthetic sensitiveness of the two constitutions is different ; in the one case the æsthetic sensitiveness is dull, in the other it is acute ; the refinement of the one constitution is superior to that of another, perhaps by reason of education, or perhaps naturally so. Minds vary ; there are scarcely two of the same calibre ; so with the æsthetic constitution, there are scarcely any two whose æsthetic sensibilities can be said to be exactly in unison, though often they are in harmony, but scarcely ever in unison.

To create in the sphere of thought, and in that of feeling, requires more power than to understand or to respond to. Thus, the mind that enunciates thought is ever more powerful than the one that receives, understands, and appropriates the "word" or embodied thought ; thus, many minds can understand and appreciate what they never could themselves have enunciated. The producer is a very different person from the consumer ; the former is the more powerful of the two, the leader in the realm of mind. So in the domain of the fine arts, the creative master, in any department, is the leader. His æsthetic sensibilities are more acute, more intense and refined than of one who can admire, feel, and appreciate his productions. The poet is greater than the lover of his poetry ; the musical creator greater than they who are enraptured with the tones of his creation ; superior to one who can interpret his creation, can even imbibe his spirit, and reduce his feelings into execution ; that is, to the performer. He is superior to the performer, just as the painter or sculptor or architect is above the copyist who produces his work. A copyist, to be a true one, must not merely imitate, he must imbibe the spirit of his master, otherwise he cannot reproduce the master's creation ; it will be without life, a dead image, a mere likeness of the original.

The artist is a man of profound sensibilities; his soul is a delicate one, intensely sensitive. In his production he embodies this spirit, and accordingly as constitutionally he is poet, musician, or other kind of artist, his sensibilities will find relief in that direction and thus express themselves. When the poet feels, he expresses himself in the æsthetical language of poetry; the musician in music; the painter, or sculptor, or architect, in the language of their respective arts. Souls which are æsthetically sensitive are capable of appreciating such creations. Few are open to the power of this art-language in all its branches; some appreciate one art, others another; so that all can find something to which their souls especially respond. Mankind universally appreciates art, in some, if not in all of its departments, because mankind universally has feelings. Man universally understands the word, thought embodied; so also he responds to the fine arts the embodiment of feeling.

One great work of art addresses itself everywhere to the æsthetic sensibilities of mankind. The grand medium through which the All-great Architect and Artist addresses himself to the sensibilities of mankind, is nature. Nature is, from one point of view, but the creation of an artist. Through it, the God of nature appeals to the sensibilities of man. Nature speaks to man, especially, through the eye and the ear. In itself it contains in it, excluding poetry, which is essentially the "word," all the other elements of art. Music in its rudiments, then, is in the sigh of the breezes, the rush of the hurricane, in the murmur of the streamlet, and in the roar of the ocean. Nature has its music, its harmonies, and they are strangely exhilarating sometimes. Painting, sculpture, architecture, all that is contained in these expressions, are to be found to perfection in nature. The aspects of nature give us all of them, and in their perfection. The music of nature appeals to the

human sensibilities, through the ear; its beauties of form and color, appeal to man's æsthetical sensibilities through the eye. All the painting and sculpture and architecture which the human spirit employs, is but borrowed from this original source, this fountain of all inspiration — Nature. The true copyist imbibes the spirit of the original artist. The artist does but imbibe the spirit of the Creator as expressed in the forms and colors of nature. Nature, then, from one point of view, is but a work of art; through it as by means of a language God communes with the human spirit. Through "the word" He communes with mind; through nature, He moves to their very lowest depths the sensibilities of human nature.

Thus in nature is to be found all that is grand and beautiful, and all that is soul-stirring in art. No human architect can ever hope to reproduce in effect the vaulted arch of the heavens. None can ever depict in spirit and in truth the awful solitude of the desert; the grand sublimity of the rock-riven mountain; the sweet repose of the summer's landscape. No artist can ever hope to equal the pictures, the creations offered by nature. These are the works of the Supreme One, the creator of the artist; the mediums through which He expresses His feelings to those whom He has formed capable of responding to, and who can appreciate these glorious works of art. This is the cultus of God himself—the æsthetical language in which God speaks to man; and it is this instrumentality that he adopts and sanctifies thereafter as a religious cultus.

The occasion is a solemn one: the law of God is to be reiterated; man's conscience is to be addressed; God is about to impress man with the tremendous majesty of His presence; man is to be taught to fear God, to the end that he shall obey Him; man is to be made to feel the inviolability of the moral law; is to be made to realize the awful majesty

of the Being to whom he is responsible, and through the dread of His wrath and indignation is to be kept in the path of obedience.

God will now, while He enlightens the mind and the conscience, appeal to man also through the inlet of his sensibilities. To do this, He at once brings to bear all the resources of a Divine cultus. Man, when he would appeal to the sensibilities, introduces poetry, music, all the instrumentalities which God has placed at his disposal; and while the conscience is approached directly through the medium of "the word," the feelings are all brought into action through the instrumentality of these arts. God does likewise; the law given to Moses enlightens the conscience, and, at the same time, the Divine cultus of Sinai appeals to the sensibilities; and human nature is thereby impressed and moved. In accomplishing this end, He brings into action the tremendous forces of Nature. Descending upon earth, he establishes His throne upon the dismal crag of Sinai. Shrouded in clouds and darkness, the mountain trembling in terror, He hurls his thunderbolts; and the blasted crags of Horeb re-echoing, resound: Behold! the terrific ritual of Jehovah!—the natural cultus of an universal religion: a stern and frowning mountain; clouds and darkness; the earth quaking; quivering lightnings, and crashing thunders!—such is the ritual, the cultus, which Almighty God adopts when He would appeal to our sensibilities. Here, then, is the instance of a Divine cultus, the adoption of a Divine ritual. Here we have God using nature, with all its elements of art, as a language through which to address Himself to the sensibilities of man.

Every religion has its cultus, that is to say, the religious spirit has, and will seek to express itself, in some or in all of the forms which are included under the category of the fine arts. The Egyptians have their massive temples and

tombs, their colossal sphinxes and statues, their gaudy frescoes. The Greeks had their sacred buildings, their beautiful temples, and their inimitable statuary and paintings; almost invariably, these arts were employed for religious purposes; in representations of the gods, and in adorning their temples. Statuary has its origin in the representation of the gods. The Romans, borrowing their architecture and statuary from the Greeks and Etruscans, they, too, have their temples adorned with painting and statuary. All the ancients, too, had their sacred poetry and music. The religious spirit inevitably takes possession of these channels through which to breathe out its inspiration, and thus to express itself.

The Christian Church, it, too, had its cultus. There is a Christian poetry, and music, and sculpture, and painting, and architecture. The cathedrals of Mediævalism, the mighty temple of St. Peter's at Rome, give us Christian art in its perfection. And the poetry of Dante and of Milton; the music of a Beethoven, a Mozart, a Handel, and other great masters, give us the creations that the Christian inspiration has produced. The Roman Church has appreciated these products of the Christian spirit, has indorsed them, and often incorporated them in its ritual.

The general spiritual association of the Christian community finds its highest expression in acts and offices of public worship. The Christian life is an individual possession. Public worship, the result of such a life in man as a social being, is the act of the whole body, the Church. Public worship, in order to its transaction, requires the condition of time and place, both of which are determined by the ritual of custom. The manner of worship, how it is to be conducted, evidently requires the interposition of a rule; here, then, we come in contact with the ritual of the Christian community.



The ritual of the Church is properly the rule or law which regulates its public worship; it directs the manner in which it is to be conducted.

The Christian cultus, in one sense, that is, art inasmuch as it is affected by the spirit of Christianity, is as broad as Christianity itself. The Church ritual relates to certain sections of this cultus only, and directs how they shall be regulated, in being introduced as an element in Christian worship. Poetry and music in general, as arts, have been more or less affected by the spirit of Christianity. Ours is not a Greek or Roman, or Egyptian or Chinese art; but is necessarily Christian. The ideas and truths which Christianity has planted in the consciousness of Christendom have necessarily produced some result. The mind of Christendom being brought into contact with the grand realities of immortality, eternity, a future judgment, heaven and hell, has been more or less affected by them. The sensibilities have been, and must ever be, more or less stirred by being brought in contact with, and being forced to contemplate such solemn and tremendous realities. Much of the poetry, even of a Byron, is attributable to Christianity; without it, it was an impossibility. Once revealed, the facts of Christianity become a power in the human consciousness, and directly or indirectly will exercise an influence. There is no escaping the power of such realities; once made known, they must ever afterwards wield an irresistible influence over the mind of man. Byron and Shelley are a revolt from Christianity; a mad effort to escape and to free themselves from the power of its truths. The poetry, the whole art of Christendom is thus, directly or indirectly, but a Christian cultus.

Now since man is a creature of sensibilities as well as of intellect, it follows that the cultus of a religion is as essential to it as are its doctrines. And since it is only in rela-

tion to public worship that the cultus must become common to all alike, it follows, that here the necessity for some general law to regulate this matter becomes felt. So long as the expression of religious feeling was merely individual, each could do as he pleased ; but when the act becomes one in common, in which all are to join, here uniformity becomes necessary, and therefore some law by which it may be established. Separately, each individual may create or use such poetry, music, &c., as he pleases ; but if all are to join, as in the acts of public worship, uniformity must be established ; there must be a ritual, a law regulating the worship of the Church. By such ritual, it is determined, what poetry shall be introduced to be used in common, and this poetry, being thus appropriated for the worship of the Church, becomes sacred ; a certain style of music, too, is adopted, which becomes Church or sacred music. Not that it has any particular element of holiness about it, — music cannot be classified originally as sacred and profane, — but there is a certain style of music and of poetry peculiarly adapted to the expression of religious feeling. The contemplation of the truths of Christianity, and of the reality of existence, gives rise to a certain class of feelings, which in their turn express themselves in a certain style of music, and in a certain class of poetry. This music and poetry is appropriated by the Christian community, and by its ritual made the service of the Church. Thus it becomes sacred, being used for sacred purposes in the solemn worship of the Christian assembly. So, too, in architecture and its accessories, a certain style is adopted, it having succeeded best in expressing the feelings arising out of the truths peculiar to Christianity. In this case, however, architecture having in it the element of the useful as well as of the beautiful, becomes liable to certain limitations. The style of architecture adopted by any religious society depends, in

the first place, upon what it adopts as its principle of worship. If, as under Protestantism very generally, the idea is that the understanding is alone to be addressed; or if this is the leading, the main object, proposed in the act of worship, then of course there will be little or no provision made in the ritual for an appeal to the sensibilities; and here we would have an architecture adapted only to such a mode of address, and a ritual admitting of no appeal to the sensibilities. If the understanding be alone considered, the church edifice should be a forum or hall, and no provision should be made for an appeal through other means to the sensibilities; and thus just as one or the other side of this view becomes predominant, will the cultus of religion be contracted or expanded. If the sensibilities be entirely disregarded, there will be no cultus, the ritual will entirely exclude it; if the sensibilities be somewhat considered, as is generally the case under Protestantism, the cultus, though limited, will, by the ritual, be allowed to exercise some influence.

Under the ecclesiastical administration of Mediævalism, and still within the pale of Romanism, though not now to the same extent, public worship is nothing but a cultus, — the understanding is entirely disregarded, and the sensibilities are alone appealed to. Preaching, which retired more and more into the background with the advance of ceremonialism, finally became practically extinct. The ceremonial became more and more gorgeous; finally the sensibilities alone were appealed to; worship thus became a mere ceremony. Architecture and all its accessories were used to their utmost limits; the worship of the congregation became a solemn and a gorgeous pageant. But the understanding of the Christian society being disregarded, the facts of Christianity become obscured, and the ceremonial must needs lose its significance; thus the whole

ceremonial system became, in course of time, but an unmeaning pageant, and, in the end, failed to impress the religious sensibilities. There are two extremes : first, when the understanding is alone addressed ; and secondly, when the feelings alone are appealed to. The truth lies in the mean, in a just proportion of the two in unity. It is the province of the ritual to establish this proper proportion.

Christianity, being a religion of light, cannot undertake to ignore the pulpit ; and in the Church's acts of worship the pulpit must ever hold an important position, the position, we may safely say, of prime importance. But Christianity, though light, which soon becomes life in the human constitution, is also, therefore, a religion of life and feeling. The feelings, therefore, must not be ignored. Art itself, but the language of feeling, must be appropriated by Christianity. Poetry and music, and architecture with its accessories, are all, being human elements, to be appropriated and used by Christianity. Thus sanctified they ought to be found within the Christian Church, and under the Christian ritual, which should legitimate and direct their application, ought to be used as an instrumentality in Christian worship. The ritual would give us the rule for the use of the fine arts in the performance of public worship.

Poetry and music, the prominent instrumentalities employed in worship, though both appealing to the sensibilities, differ in their mode of address. Poetry is "the word," the thought uttered, rhythmically expressed ; why the word is thrown into rhythm rather than into prose, we can easily understand. Poetry borders on the domain of music ; both aim at affecting the sensibilities directly ; and while music is able to effect this through the principles of harmony and melody, — poetry approximates to this as near as possible, limited as it is by the use of the word, and adopts rhythm, which is an approach to the tones of music. Music appeals

directly through the sense of hearing to the æsthetic sensibilities. It is the expression, the direct language of feeling to feeling, and with those who have their sensibilities developed, it is at once understood. All of us can appreciate the broad distinctions in styles of music. It requires no peculiar cultivation of ear to distinguish martial from sacred music; nearly every one can distinguish in music the tones of sorrow and sadness from those of joy and gladness. The skilful musician can play as effectually upon our feelings as he can upon the strings of his instrument, — a point which is admirably developed by Dryden in his ode upon "Alexander's feast." It would seem strange that our nature can be thus affected simply by musical tones; but it must be remembered that these tones awaken thoughts; often are supported by words and thoughts; then the music is often only an accompaniment, and by appealing to the sensibilities whilst the understanding is addressed, makes the word, life, a moving, living influence within the soul. Such is the principle involved in all music where its tones are supported by words. Thus it is in the ballad; told, it is poetry; sung, it becomes music. The two taken together constitute a class of music. The opera rests upon this same principle. There is a plot, a drama; the music is made to harmonize with the events in the drama; and each event becomes a feeling sent home to the heart by the power of the accompanying harmonies. The joy or sadness, all the feelings arising naturally from the character of the incidents represented in the drama, are embodied in the harmonies and melodies of music; and thus a duplex result from the story and from the music, which intensifies the first, is obtained; the feelings are deeply affected in following the events of the story.

This principle of music and word in combination, is the one usually adopted in church-music. The feelings arising

from the contemplation of the subjects presented in the Christian revelation are first clothed in language, and this is Christian sacred poetry; these are the hymns, chants, and anthems of the Christian community. These in their turn become the basis of a musical inspiration, which is in the strictest sense sacred music. The words and the music are all one, the feeling embodied in the poetry is the same as that which finds expression under the forms of music. And this is generally the nature of the Church's sacred music; hence the music of the Roman Mass; hence the grand "Requiem" of Mozart, the "Stabat Mater;" and all that, under Protestantism, is recognized as church music.

The Church until the era of Protestantism had a regular, a recognized style of music; a certain class of music peculiarly Christian in its tone was taken possession of by the Church and by its ritual adopted as a part of its worship; such, we believe, is still the case in the Church of Rome. Up to a late era, Christianity was creative in the region of the fine arts. The solemn truths of Christian revelation sinking deep into the consciousness of the ages, acted as an inspiration, and produced those magnificent creations which we now have in all the branches of the fine arts. Hence, as we have said, those grand old structures, the cathedrals; hence the intense spiritualism of a Raphael, in his incomparable Madonna; hence the grand conceptions of a Michael Angelo in architecture, sculpture, and painting; hence "The Last Supper" of Leonardo di Vinci; hence the unearthly harmonies of a Mozart, of a Haydn, a Handel, and of a Beethoven, and the other great masters in this art. In all such instances, Christianity was an inspiration, it influenced man to the highest endeavors, and is a success.

Protestantism was and still continues to be in most of its sections, a reaction against the religion of mere sensibility. The development of the sensibilities, without a corre-

sponding enlightenment of the understanding, must in the end result in a mere religious sentimentalism, which will be sustained by an excessively sensuous ceremonial. Religion in the end becomes a pageantry, unmeaning, yet through its sensuousness appealing to and gratifying the sensibilities. Protestantism was a revolt against such a Christianity; and very naturally, in opposition to the religion previously dominant, established a system of culture which had regard only to the understanding. The pulpit with us takes the place of the Mass; the ceremonial with all its æsthetic constituents is very generally suppressed, the sermon and the catechism being installed in its place. The ritual becomes stringent, the ceremonial meagre, æsthetics becomes all but banished as an element in worship. Preaching alone being considered as important, the cathedral gives place to the hall, or the meeting-house. Thus in some sections of Protestantism the reaction is so complete, that, as with the Quakers, there is no ceremonial. Most of the Protestant bodies are not, however, so radical; but have retained somewhat of a ceremonial. Preaching must in every Protestant body, so long as it is true to itself, hold the prominent position; but there may be great difference of opinion as to how much of the ceremonial is to be retained. And there is a great difference among the Protestant bodies as to their practice in this respect. The Church of England, of all the Reformed bodies, retains the most ornate ceremonial. This section of Protestantism, with its progeny the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, in retaining an ornate ceremonial, admits that the sensibilities are to be treated with as much respect as the understanding. The Episcopal Church both in England and America admits of the legitimacy of employing the fine arts in the service of religion; it indorses, therefore, the principles of æsthetics as applicable to religious results. The Episcopal Church does

not ignore the pulpit ; by no means ; she considers it the very charter of her religious freedom, the origin and the sustainer of her life. But she, too, acknowledges the reality of our sensibilities, that we are creatures of feeling as well as of understanding ; she recognizes that there is a language of feeling as well as of thought. She would recognize the cultus of Christianity as well as its doctrines ; she would encourage her members in refining that cultus, in producing noble creations in all branches of the fine arts ; and while thus offering encouragement to genius, she expresses herself as willing and anxious to use its productions as elements under her ritual. Thus, the Episcopal Church, if properly understood, ought to stand before Christian Protestant society as the patron of the fine arts ; and as thus offering inducements towards their cultivation within its pale.

Already the pressure of this influence is being felt within this Church. So far we have a sacred poetry ; we have our chants, anthems, and hymns ; we have those of other ages and of other denominations. The poetry of Christianity, in its grand outlines, is the same for all ages and denominations ; but is this so of music ? The need of the times in all the sections of Protestantism, but above all in the Episcopal Church, is for a body of church music. Our hymns are the subject of ritual determination, why should not the same rule be applied to music ? There is as much variety and determinativeness in music as there is in poetry. There are various styles of music, and but one is adapted properly to be church music. The Roman Church has its music prescribed by the proper authorities, and we ought to follow her example in this respect. We do not permit the introduction of any kind of poetry by irresponsible parties within our services, recognizing the necessity of guarding ourselves in this direction ; is it not just as necessary to act with the same circumspection in relation to music ? There are dif-



ferent, decided, classes of music, as there are of poetry and architecture. The music of the opera is distinctly different from that of the Mass and the "Requiem;" and this again differs much from martial music. The music of the drinking-song in the opera is not appropriate for the hymn. There are grave distinctions in the domain of music, and it will not do to let any and every one have the determination of this important matter. The appropriateness of a style of music to a style of thought; the determination of whether the music is adapted to the nature of the matter presented before a religious assembly; whether it correctly expresses feelings emanating from the solemn rites of religious truth; this, we say, is an important matter, and ought to be settled by the authorities of the Church. The music of a Church is as much the subject of ritual regulation as is its poetry. The importance of this subject is, we say, pressing itself upon the Christian Protestant mind. All feel the incongruity that often exists in our assemblies of public worship between the occasion and the music performed. It is often to the sensitive soul just as if Byron or Shelley were read from the pulpit or chancel. The want of correspondence is but too often distressing. It is evidently time that this matter should be taken in hand, and should be dealt with wisely and yet firmly. We are fast losing all our refinement, and are scarcely shocked to hear the most fantastic music introduced as a part of our public worship.

The drift of this age is within the domain of art, towards an æsthetical cultus. All the Protestant bodies are feeling this tendency, and the Episcopal body being that which has already the most ornate ceremonial, and which, from the place it has already given to this principle, is in the van, feels it most decidedly. There is a felt necessity of yielding more to the demands of the sensibilities than has

hitherto been done. Some of the sections of Protestantism having as their very corner-stone the doctrine of simplicity; even bareness of ceremonial, many such bodies are now to be seen striving manfully to resist this pressure, but they cannot; most of them have already yielded, have drifted far from their original moorings, and are fast sailing out upon the prevailing current of æstheticism. It is impossible to resist these movements, they are too deep down to be reached by anything we can do. This is but the reaction of the sensibilities against the understanding. The rights of man's sensitive nature were denied, the mind tyrannized over the feelings and withheld their rights; dissatisfaction has ensued, and now there is a reaction in favor of the religion of feeling.

The soul longs instinctively for something more than can be given through the process of teaching; it wants exercise for its feelings. It longs for a cultus through which it can express itself; hence, a reaction; and now we must be upon our guard lest this go too far; lest the pulpit be dethroned, and religion again become mere æstheticism and sentimentalism. This is the danger of the present, and already there are indications of its imminence.

There is evidently a movement towards the readjustment of the claims of the pulpit and the ceremonial. Since, however, human nature never rests in equilibrium, it is to be feared that the idea of a readjustment is but, after all, a pretext, while the real strength and direction of the movement is towards ceremonialism; towards sensuousness and ritualism, as it is generally denominated. The danger to which the pulpit is subjected, especially in the Episcopal Church, under this movement, is evident, and is a matter of concern to all thoughtful Episcopalians; we say Episcopalians because here the movement is first felt. In the end, however, it will affect all the other sections of Protestan-

tism ; most of them, as we have said, have yielded much already. These movements do not belong to any one particular body, but to the age. The appearance of such a movement may be sooner in one body than in another ; but it will finally be manifest in all, and essay to sweep all into the same common vortex. This tendency towards sensuousness and ceremonialism is evident in all the Protestant bodies ; and if it does not sweep them away, it will, at least, sweep many of their numbers off, carrying them finally into the vortex of Romanism, if no other resting-place can be found. It is folly to impute such a tendency to any one denomination, it is a spirit pervading all. It is the same spirit which dragged the whole Church finally into the ecclesiasticism and formalism of Mediævalism. Protestantism was a reaction against it ; but now it is beginning to operate again. It has, as a basis of truth, the source of its power, the sensibilities of the soul, and the necessity of their demands. It has, as its negative cause, the decay of true spiritual religion, the advance of materialism and the increase of worldliness. It is just, inasmuch as it demands an adequate Christian cultus, a field in which it can exercise its æsthetic impulses. It is false, in seeming only, to demand so much. It aims, really, at banishing the pulpit from our churches, and at re-establishing the Mediæval form of Christianity in its place. Consistently with this tendency, we see in the Episcopal Church the pulpit retiring more and more into the background ; pushed aside into some nook or corner in order to make way for the chancel, its altar and lights, and the pomp of a gorgeous ceremonial.

How Protestantism is to avoid this issue it is hard to see ; in fact, it has been forced upon us already. The proper solution of the difficulty would naturally be, the proper proportionating or adjustment of the intellectual and æsthetic or sensitive element, in the economy and worship

of the Church. Protestantism must affirm its right to a Christian cultus. It must cease to be iconoclastic, and to denounce the language of the sensibilities. It must learn to encourage the fine arts in all their branches, and to admit them judiciously, as elements within its pale and its ritual.

The Church of England, in its constitution, thought that it had adopted such a system. While in her reform she avoided the sensuousness of Rome, she at the same time steered clear of the stern iconoclasm of Puritanism. In her position, she sanctioned a Christian cultus and admitted the right of æsthetics to have a place under the church ritual. Such a position is apparently wise and just, it sanctions the satisfaction of both branches of human nature. It endorses, encourages, and adopts art; at the same time it addresses itself through the pulpit to the understanding. Such a form of Christianity is, therefore, seemingly adapted to the wants of human nature, for all ages. And if this be true, then the Episcopal Church both in England and in this country will be able to meet, and finally to emerge triumphant from this movement of this age. With this Church, the whole matter turns, upon its holding fast to its pulpit; in resisting its ostracism or even being pushed out of the way, as is now but too often the case, to make room for the altar and its candlesticks. This disrespectful way of treating the pulpit must be put a stop to, or the Episcopal Church is, for the present, gone. If the pulpit be silenced, the time will not be long, before Episcopalianism becomes Romanism.

There are palpable indications all around us of a revolt in the spirit of the age against the gross materialism that has hitherto so generally predominated. The intense materialism of this age, and of this country, with its concomitant worldliness, has at length reached its climax; it has become absolutely insupportable. Every sensitive soul, every soul that is not absolutely dead, to all that is beauti-

ful, true, and good, must feel that this is so. The flatness, the earthliness of life, has become insufferable. "The life is more than meat and the body than raiment," there is more in life than to eat, drink, and be merry. Wealth and material prosperity are not God, though they are apparently the god of this age; but there are souls which are not satisfied with such a worship; souls which cannot bow down and sell themselves body and soul, even to mammon. There is then a revolt against the miserable unsatisfactory earthliness of this age. There is a craving, a yearning, for something more than it can give; and this is the reason of that reaction against all this, and towards mediævalism, of which we are the witnesses, and which we feel within our own consciousness. A glamour seems to spread itself over the past. In the hazy distance it becomes attractive: the solitudes of the hermit, the calm seclusion of the monastery and of the convent, the dim aisle of the cathedral with its gloomy vaulted roof, expressive of the solemnity of eternity. The evening vespers rising softly through the dim twilight, the low "Miserere" and the solemn "Requiem" chanting for the dead; a halo seems to gather as we look back into the past, and to rest upon these solemn memories; and in contrast with the flatness that everywhere surrounds us, in which we are enveloped, saturated and numbed to the bone; through this contrast mediævalism has become resuscitated. There is a yearning for something grander and nobler than what the dry bones around us can offer. We want life and poetry and music, all that is true and beautiful and good, that which appeals to our nobler and better feelings; and not forever, the dronings of a half dead pulpit; and the eternal declamations of a spiritless science.

Man cannot live always but for money, and for politics, in absolute worldliness; nor for the physical sciences alone. The nobler portion of man's nature, the spiritual, will in the

end assert itself and demand its food. And though the age may presume to sneer at all that is lofty and noble and generous, and assume to stigmatize, as chivalry, all that is noble and generous; nevertheless, though all this may not be of any money value, still it will manage to survive, and will prove finally that it alone is the reality.

The movement in the direction of the spiritual, towards the true, the beautiful, and the good, is a reality, and a tide which every hour will find setting in stronger and stronger. The Church feels the movement and ought to respond to it. It means, away with materialism, bring in the spiritual. Art never triumphed in a materialistic age; materialism kills all inspiration; it may be the age of science, but it means death to art. The artist is a man of soul, with an inspiration; he cannot breathe freely in a scientific age; an age which denies spirit can perceive none; not even in a Raphael, a Michael Angelo, nor in a Mozart, a Beethoven, or a Mendelssohn. There is a promise then of better things in this movement towards a modern cultus. The Church must take it by the hand and lead it on encouragingly, as a protest against the gross materialism and base worldliness, that is now so generally prevalent.

The earthliness of sciences and materialism, renders them, as influences, weak; of themselves they can never for any length of time hold human nature in bondage under them; the spirituality of that nature demands something that neither of these instrumentalities can supply. A system of religious æstheticism is far more competent to hold society in subjection, than is science or materialism; hence the power that the Roman Catholic system has ever exercised over society, and will continue to exercise until the end of time. Man is easily controlled through his religious feelings; and an artistic religious system, where the ceremonial is sensuous and affecting; where all the concomi-

tants of place and time, are, in accordance with the principles of æstheticism, so adapted, as to impress men through their religious feelings; with such conditions, a religious system can easily be established, which will effectually hold mankind in bondage; and will do so, just because it satisfies some of the deepest yearnings and cravings of human nature.

This then is the issue that we in this age of Protestantism are forced to meet; to be judicious, we must encourage this revolt against earthliness, must endeavor to satisfy these awakened spiritual cravings; yet without descending to sensuousness; and while on the one hand, through our cultus and our ritual, we protest against the materialism of Rationalism, on the other hand, through our pulpit, we as decidedly protest against the sentimentalism, mere æstheticism, and superstition, of sensuousness.

The adoption of a system of æsthetics, and the application of its principles within the sphere of the Church's public worship; the use of æsthetics, as an element in public worship, constitutes what is especially the Christian cultus. All religions use æsthetics; the Christian Religion is no exception. But while such an use and application of æsthetics is, what is, par excellence, the Christian cultus, yet there is at the same time, a wider sense in which this may be understood. Æsthetics, is, as we have shown, wider than the mere public worship of the Church, it is a department of human nature, just as much so, as is the intellectual, that department which relates to reason; as much so, as is the moral. Besides the true, and the good, there is also the beautiful. Reason takes cognizance of the true; conscience of the good, and the æsthetic sensitiveness of the beautiful. In order to the full culture of human nature, each of these departments must receive its proper attention. True, there is a gradation, in the importance attaching to these several depart-

ments of human culture. With justice it may be said that the true and the good are of more importance than the beautiful. But such a distinction must be taken with great caution, for though in the abstract this may seem to be true, still in the concrete living agent it may prove to be an untruth. Human nature, constituted, as it is at present, invariably tends to become one-sided; it can only do one thing at a time. Thus we see periods like the present, when education is the "hue and cry." Education, it is now thought, can do everything. It will enlighten man, make him moral, religious, refined, and everything else. Only learn to read, and everything will follow, civilization is ensured, the millennium is at hand. And now behold the literature of the age, that class of it which is most generally read! Can it do any good? Can reading of deeds of darkness and of all the foul wickedness which is set forth in the cheap literature of the day do any good? Already it has become a question with many, whether the press is not a curse rather than a blessing to the mass of civilized society. And yet it seems to be thought, only educate, that is enable to read and write, and all is done. True, education, teaching to read, and thus enabling the human being to educate himself, is all well enough. But is it enough? that is the question. Here is the one-sidedness to which human nature is so unfortunately prone. So far from being an end this ought to be only the beginning. Man has more than one side to his nature. Besides an intellect and the power to appropriate knowledge, he has a conscience, a religious consciousness, and an æsthetic sensitiveness. Conscience, requires as much, and as careful culture as does the intellect; and the same is true of the religious consciousness. God must ever be an influence in the human consciousness; it is all-important then, that the human being should be made to know the true God. And then, of the æsthetic



sensitiveness, that, though at first sight, although apparently, not of so much practical importance, yet in the end, will be found a powerful principle in human nature. And that this is so, is proved by the mighty and until now, invincible influence, which the Roman Church has wielded over the great mass of Christendom; and all, by sagaciously using this element of æsthetics. Man after all is more effectually influenced through his feelings, than through any other channel. That, in human nature, which responds to the beautiful, is a much greater power, than it has heretofore been recognized, as being. The Roman Church has sagaciously adopted this principle, but as yet, as an element in human nature, it has never been philosophically unfolded. It is too often thought that æsthetics belongs but to the few, that it is an esoteric system, and can be applied only to the cultivated and refined. Yet it is the mass of mankind, the rabble, that is influenced, most through the feelings. It is true that the higher the culture the more capable of appreciating; but not of feeling, of being moved. The commonest, rudest man can feel music, and can be moved as deeply by it as the most refined and cultivated. All men can feel what in æsthetics appeals to the feelings. The cultivated man can understand, analyze, and perhaps in this sense more fully appreciate the production. But all of us have these feelings. Intellect is aristocratic, it must and will have exoteric, and esoteric domains; but feeling is democratic, it belongs to all, is generic. All mankind may not like to study, but all do like to feel, and all can feel; all like poetry and music; the few who are deficient in these respects are evidently exceptions, and so prove the rule. All love poetry, though of different kinds; all love true poetry and music, and all that is really beautiful, in nature and in art. The high and the low, the poor as well as the rich, all here meet together, all can feel in harmony, all are one. *Æsthetics* is a mighty influence in human nature, and is not to

be ignored. It is right to cultivate the intellect, to teach the conscience, to inform the religious consciousness; and it is right and necessary also to cultivate the æsthetic sensitiveness. To encourage the taste for the beautiful and to cultivate it, is at the same time to refine man and to make him a nobler being. It is to raise human nature out of the degradation of brutality and to elevate it to the position due to it as being in the image and likeness of the Great God.

Christianity does not propose to degrade man, it does not demand the suppression of anything concreated with human nature. It demands the extirpation of sin, but nothing more. It takes all that is really human and consecrates it; it uses all the powers of human nature in the furtherance of its benign designs. It adopts then, and consecrates, man's æsthetic powers. It demands their culture, and that they be devoted to the glory of God. It is a mistake to think that all that pertains to this branch of man's nature is unhallowed; to hold as some do that æsthetics is sensuousness, unspiritual, carnal; no more so than is reason and intellectual culture. Of course there is the danger of exaggeration and of one-sidedness in this direction, just as there is in everything else that is human. Human nature will proceed to extremes, will become one-sided, and exaggerate one element until it becomes false, and therefore dangerous, just as it is now doing with intellectual culture. But, still the fact remains; æsthetic sensitiveness is a principle in human nature, a talent which ought to be improved. Let culture then, be human, many-sided, and then perhaps it will cease to be exaggerated and false. Educate the intellect; but at the same time teach the conscience and exercise its powers. Teach man to know the true God, and Jesus Christ whom He has sent; and at the same time cultivate the æsthetic feelings and so refine, elevate, and cultivate the whole man. Such is the culture which human nature, and which Christianity demands.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE PULPIT—ITS RELATION TO SOCIETY; AND ITS DUTY.

IT is very evident to the careful observer that the pulpit can no longer be considered a leading influence in the realm of thought. It no longer leads; but is led; it no longer guides and directs the current of thought of the age; but it is guided and directed by it. The philosophy of the age, gradually penetrating society, finally reaches the pulpit, and inevitably in due time, the pulpit will feel its effects and be influenced by it. Just in accordance with the philosophy and spirit of the age, will be the utterances of the pulpit. Thus at one time we will have a transcendental pulpit, the Gospel according to Schelling or Hegel, or some other German philosopher; at another time a Geological pulpit, the Gospel or revelation according to Lyell or Huxley, or some other such savant. At one time we have revelation interpreted in accordance with the theory of catastrophism, at another time in accordance with uniformitarianism, or evolutionism. The pulpit adapting itself to the requirements of any of the reigning or even popular theories of the day. Evidently the pulpit is but the pupil and follower of some higher power; it is afloat upon the intellectual current of the age. By whom is that current directed? What is the leading influence within the realm of thought in this present age? Who are the leaders of the thought of the age? Evidently the writers of the age,

writers who are at the same time thinkers. The thinkers of the age, who are writers, stand in the van of the progress of the age. They are responsible for the thought of the times; they first think it, then write it, and so promulge it. Thought thus enunciated imbues other minds, becomes their thought, and so influential.

Thought is self-propagating, it depends not on the principle of authority, nor of personal influence, it is the most subtle of all influences; thrown out by the thinker or writer, if clear and well defined, it at once gets into the intellectual atmosphere of the age and so pervades it, so that the atmosphere becomes absolutely saturated with it. As an intellectual atmosphere it comes in contact with the intellectual lungs of the men of the age, they breathe it and, unconsciously perhaps, become inoculated; it enters into their intellectual system, and they find themselves thinking what the writer thought and wrote, without really knowing whence or wherefore. The unconscious power of thought is its most striking characteristic. The writer who is a thinker wields a most tremendous influence upon the destiny of this world of ours.

In the van of the march of thought stands the thinker who is a writer; he directs the current, he therefore is responsible for the thought of the age. The pulpit is an influence, but subordinate to this; the pulpit is but, what the writers of the age make it. It is influential as a subordinate power; but it is by no means a leading influence.

There are two ways, by means of which, man, in using the word may influence his fellow-man; first by means of personal address, through the word spoken; secondly by the written word, the unconscious way; by means of the innate power of thought.

In using the instrumentality of the spoken word, or personal address, man aims to influence his fellow-man directly.

Mind, in this method, is brought into immediate contact with mind ; not through the medium of thought, but through that of the whole personality. The person or persons addressed are not made to think ; but are urged rather to action. A psychical pressure is brought to bear upon an audience of listeners. They are urged, are entreated, are argued with, are moved by every means within the orator's power, to be convinced, or perhaps to act. It is not the power of the speaker's thought that is brought to bear upon the hearer's mind. The hearer is not thinking, rather he is listening. It is not the speaker's thought that is operating, but himself, his personal influence, his arguments, his eloquence, his whole personal efficacy is brought into action. It is, in fine, the contact of man with man, the influence of personality upon personality that is exerted, in this mode of address ; and thus it often happens that in addition to the natural, artificial means are also resorted to, in order to secure the desired end. Arts of rhetoric, oratorical displays, sophisms, anything calculated to move or convince is often surreptitiously introduced in order to gain one's point, and influence the audience. Thus the hearer is overpowered, perhaps convinced, not however by the power of thought ; but by the power and art of the speaker. The principles brought to bear are many, the influence is a complex one ; all of its elements however reside in, and are exercised by the human personality. The hearer has perhaps been influenced in the manner and in the direction desired ; but the work is neither deep nor thorough. Thought has not propagated itself. The thought of the speaker, when he really has one, has not become the thought of his hearer. He has not sowed thoughts in the mind of his audience, he has only influenced them, directly through his personality, and not through the medium of thought. True, there are speakers who really think aloud ; but then such are not

properly speakers but writers. To sow thought is not properly the province of the speaker, but of the writer. The man who speaks thus ought not to speak but to write, such evidently is his true vocation. The influence exerted by the speaker is an immediate active one; that by the writer is in the first place a passive one. The mind influenced is primarily in a passive state. It is in the first place a recipient, receives into itself the thought of another, which henceforth becomes its own. Sometimes this process of inoculation is observed and known, sometimes it is not. Thus oftentimes a thought will be enunciated, under the impression that it is original when in fact it has been thus obtained. It is curious to observe how the intellectual atmosphere becomes thus charged at given times with the electricity of thought. Whether thought is indeed, to the spiritual, what electricity is to the material, it is hard to tell. It would seem as though at certain times, the intellectual atmosphere became thus charged with thought, otherwise, how is it, that we often see the same thought breaking out at different places, in different minds, widely separated, at the same time. Whether it is that this thought has been enunciated and has propagated itself, until it has become an atmosphere, the spirit of the age, or whether it be true that like electricity there is some principle in the spiritual realm corresponding to it, which thus affects all intellectually sensitive minds at the same time, which of these theories is the true one, we cannot say. But evident it is to any observer that the same thoughts occur to different and widely separated minds, at the same time; whether it is thought propounded that originates this atmosphere, or that the atmosphere produces the thought, no one can certainly say. The movement of thought in its origin and its self-propagation is so subtile, as to render it impossible accurately to detect it, so that no one can know with absolute certainty whether his thought is original or derived.

The writers who make and direct the intellectual movements of the ages, are, as we have said, thinkers. What is a thinker? A thinker primarily is an observer. Most men pass through life without to any extent developing their powers of observation; or perhaps they are originally deficient in this respect. It is wonderful how little we attend to and observe what is continually passing before our eyes and coming immediately under our observation. Seeing, we see not, hearing, we hear not, nor understand. Life is merely mechanical; we live, move, and have our being like mere machines. The child is naturally an observer, his mind is generally open to impressions from without; and moreover he is an inquirer. Hence the child learns and improves so rapidly; but as maturity advances the power seems to wane, and in most cases seems actually to disappear. Things are observed by human beings but with a stolid gaze; stupidly like the brutes we look at things and events; but our minds seem dazed, we derive no light nor knowledge, nor benefit from experience. The man whose attention is open, who is on the alert, who intelligently notes and observes what he sees and hears, necessarily becomes and is a thinker. Observation gives him the material for thought. Such material is suggestive, it leads to reflection, and reflection leads to generalization, or even, should we stop short of generalization, still the very observation itself is interesting and a valuable acquisition to the mind. Some thinkers are only observers, nothing more. They note the facts in mind or matter which others pass by; they record these facts; they enunciate them as their observations, in their writings: and others who have not the power to make such observations for themselves are pleased and interested in thus having the work done for, and offered to them by others. It is always a pleasure to read of such observations, and to experience that satisfaction which invari-

ably results when we can verify the observation and feel that it is so, to find the confirmation of such observation in one's own consciousness, or in one's own experience. Provided then the writer be only an observer, a thoughtful observer, even then, he is interesting, and a thinker. A thinker is then primarily an observer.

But the thinker may do more than observe—he may also reflect; he may classify his observations, and then proceed to reflect upon such recombination, and thus arrive at a new creation, a new thought. He observes persons or things; he reflects upon his observations; he advances, and states a new truth; he is leading the current of thought.

Observation may be directed towards several classes of objects. First, there are such objects as present themselves before the senses, the phenomena and facts of nature. Some minds are peculiarly attracted by this class of objects; some minds are always open to the aspects of nature; some naturally observing plants, some animals; some things terrestrial, others things celestial. There are some who are naturally botanists, others naturalists; some geologists, others astronomers. And that class of facts which would arrest the attention of one of these classes of minds would fail to attract the attention of another. What the botanist would observe, the naturalist would pass over, and *vice versa*. What the geologist would be attracted by, would perhaps fail to arrest the attention of the astronomer. The one is looking at and regarding the earth, the other the heavens. All are, however, observers: they attend to that class of facts which happens to interest them; then they observe and record, and finally commit them to writing. Observers are the hewers of wood and drawers of water in the realms of Science; they furnish the crude material only. Few, however, are only such; this is but the first step in the process of construction. Having observed the concrete, these ob-



servations become next the subjects of reflection, so that in due time we will have recorded the reflections of an observer, which will appear, first, in the form of deductions, hypotheses, and finally as laws. Then in turn observation may be directed upon such laws; reflections may be suggested by them, and so on indefinitely the process may be continued.

The attention of the scientist naturally impinges itself upon the facts and phenomena of nature, that is of the world, considered as external. The attention of the metaphysician, on the other hand, fastens itself upon abstractions; upon space and time; upon substance, spirit, or matter seeking to penetrate into them and to comprehend them. The metaphysician has an affinity for abstractions, and can hold them as steadily before the consciousness as the scientist can his phenomena. Again, the psychologist naturally observes, by means of introspection, the operations of mind and of soul; his attention is constantly directed inwards; he is ever on the alert to detect the movements within; any operation within no sooner takes place than it is seized upon, grasped tightly in the pincers of introspection, and held up steadily before the consciousness for examination. The natural philosopher looks at the outward; the mental philosopher, psychologist, observes the inward. The metaphysician observes abstractions, spiritual substance, the infinite. Naturally, the metaphysician passes over into the theologian, whose province it is to behold God, which in vain he strives to do, but cannot. The thought of God is too tremendous to be grasped and so held before the consciousness for examination. Hence the necessity of falling back upon revelation, which thereupon becomes the object of the theologian's attention.

The classes of objects which may attract the mind's attention are then numerous, and according to the nature of the

class of objects which attracts, we designate the order of mind. The man who is peculiarly observant of the facts of matter we denominate the natural philosopher, physicist, or scientist. Perhaps he is an astronomer, or a geologist, or a naturalist, just according to the nature of the objects by which he is most attracted, and which he makes it his practice to observe. Or he may be a metaphysician, a theologian, or a psychologist. In each of these cases it is the predominant tendency of the mind which serves to designate the province of the observer. Not that any man has only one of these tendencies—he may combine many; and seldom do we find any one mind thus exclusively developed, a mind with one prevailing tendency so exclusively dominant as to appear to have no other. There are such cases, however; when the observer has a passion, almost a mania, for one pursuit; and perhaps those who excel most in any one department of investigation, and who have been most instrumental in the advance of science, have been such men, of one idea, or rather of one ruling passion. But, ordinarily, it happens that while one tendency is predominant, still, the same man who is an observer in one department of knowledge, is more or less so in another. Thus he is capable of a comparative knowledge, and can compare his observations made in one department of knowledge with those made in another. The difficulty with such observers is, that they are apt to be superficial, or that, while from their prevailing tendency in one direction, their observations so far may be accurate and valuable; yet in other departments, being superficial, their observations are not carefully made, and are therefore worthless; yet such men are apt to pass from one department of knowledge to another, and to dogmatize as much upon what they do not know as upon what they do. Thus the scientist will essay to pass over into the domain of the metaphysician and of

the theologian; will proceed from what he does know to what he does not, and without at all observing what such philosophers do observe, he dogmatizes and thinks he has overturned all their empty speculations; and *vice versâ*, the theologian and metaphysician will act in the same manner with respect to the domain of the natural philosopher. Few minds are able to contemplate accurately more than one class of objects; in one direction; in one domain, they are, or may be, strong, in others they are weak, and their observations and reflections worthless. There are some, however, who are valuable observers within the whole realm of knowledge, whose power of comparison is therefore invaluable, seeing they can compare what they see and know. Humboldt was such an one; Leibnitz also approximated thereto, and Kant: hence their schemes of the Universe. But such minds are rare.

Another class of minds, differing from all the preceding, are especially inclined to take cognizance of and observe *events* in history, and within the current times. Such minds, in reading history, cannot but be arrested by its leading events; these events attract their attention, are recorded as observations, and thereupon become in their turn the subjects of reflection, which gradually assumes the form of a theory, or a philosophy of history, as it is called. Such observations and such historians generally prove interesting, for man is always most interested in what relates to his own spirit.

Observers of events in history are apt to watch the course of current events. The world in its busy struggle for wealth or power, or in its effort to obtain happiness, drags on its history, unobservant, in any intelligent manner, of the events which are happening continually in its midst. All its members are busy in their several departments, all are fully immersed in their own peculiar employments, and

none are situated so as to watch the general results of that vast complexity of forces which are constantly operating within society. There are but few minds which are capable of catching the thread of history; few who can lay hold upon and keep strictly before the attention that grand unity, namely, the drift of the age.

The complexity of all the forces acting within the world resolves itself finally into one; in other words, all these forces acting at the same time unequally in different directions, have in the end but one common resultant, which is the "drift of the age." In physics there is, it is said, a correlation of forces, all being finally resolvable into one which no doubt will at length be found to be volition, the will of God; so in history there is too a correlation of forces, forces acting through the medium of humanity, through free agency, broken into innumerable forms of activity; yet all in the end resolvable into one, which will be found, as in the other case, to be the will of God. A final analysis of the forces operating within the sphere of history would give us two, the will of God and the will of man. Man being sinful, his will must necessarily act more or less in opposition to the will of God; in the resultant flowing from these antagonistic forces we have the drift of the age, which is the will of God, within the conditions of free agency, so far realized. The drift of the age is, then, but the will of God in realization; history is that will acting within the category of creature free agency, and therefore incomprehensible to us. But in the final resultant in the "drift of the age," we have that will eliminated and presented clearly before us—the will of God subjecting itself to the limitations of an antagonistic free agency—realized.

"Drift of the age," purposely we thus designate this historical resultant. Whither that drift? to what does it tend? Is it forward or backward? a progress or a

retrogression? Progress of the age or of civilization is the doctrine of the day. But is it true? What do we mean by progress? Is it that mankind as a whole, as a race, is becoming better, holier, more like God? Is it that we know more than the ancients? Is it that we can build mightier pyramids than those of Egypt? grander temples than those of Karnak and of Luxor, and those of Greece? Have we better poets than Homer and Virgil? better historians than Thucydides and Cæsar and Tacitus and Livy? Have we deeper thinkers than Aristotle and Plato and Xenophon and Plutarch? Have we finer orators than Demosthenes and Cicero? In what respect is it that there is an advance? Not in art; not in poetry. Have we any, in morals?—even that is a question. In science and its result, mechanical inventions, we have indeed advanced; and perhaps our people, as a general rule, are more generally educated than were the ancients; but more than this it is hard to grant. In some things we seem to have advanced, in others to have retrograded and to have fallen behind the ancients; and, perhaps, after all, we are simply like them—having our day. We Westerns have our peculiar genius, and are but realizing it. We are scientific, so far as concerns the physical sciences, and are mechanical; we are industrious and manufacturers, and we succeed in traffic; but perhaps after all, this is but our particular bent or genius. The ancients realized their dominant tendencies, and are gone. Where is Nineveh, and Babylon, and Tyre, and Sidon; and where are Thebes and Memphis, Athens and Carthage, and even mighty Rome itself?—where are they all now? Where are the once glorious cities of Asia Minor, Ephesus, Antioch, Pergamos, Laodicea, Thyatira, and Tadmor, the gem of the Desert—where are they all? Gone! where we too, having lived out our generation, and having realized our destiny, shall doubtless have gone too; and when this stands out a

resultant, eliminated in history, would we call it progress? Progress! What is progress? that is the question. In art the ancients seemingly *excelled* us: witness the grand and solemn structures of Egypt, and the noble temples of ancient Greece. In poetry they are not surpassed. As thinkers, Aristotle and Plato have never been equalled, and still hold the sceptre of dominion in the realm of thought. As dramatists, Æschylus and Sophocles and Euripedes still stand equal to any, with the one exception of Shakspeare. The fact is, the genius of the ancients is the well, from which in these respects, we have ever since been drawing our inspiration; the mines from which it would seem we must forever dig material. As to general intellectual enlightenment, we doubt whether Christendom, as a whole, can boast itself as much in advance of ancient Greece and Rome. China seems even to excel us in this respect, its people being said to be universally educated.

In mechanical appliances, and in the means of traffic and general intercourse, without doubt we excel the ancients. One department only remains,—that is the religious and moral. And as to religion without morals, which should be its result; so far as society is concerned—it is nothing; so then as to morals.

Is the morality of Christendom purer than was that of ancient Greece and Rome? purer than that of the ancient world? Candidly speaking, we doubt it. Christianity has certainly offered a lofty standard, purer and nobler than any which has preceded it; but has that standard become the morality of the world, nay, even of Christendom? Confucius proposes a noble standard of morality; so does Buddha. Most of the religions of the world, past and present, are not remiss in this respect; but offer a much higher standard of morality than has ever actually been put into practice. And is this all that Christianity proposes to do?

Is it like other forms of religion, only to offer such a standard? has it no more power than they? or, does it propose to make its standard a fact, a reality, in the lives of its recipients? Is Christianity, like Confucianism and Buddhism, and Parseeism and Mohammedanism, a mere law? has it no power within itself to transform the life of the nations, and to make them what its standard demands, to be pure in heart, God-like, Christ-like? And if such is the aim of Christianity, can we say that so far it has been successful? Witness the morality of the great cities of Christendom; witness the daily journals teeming with the details of crime; witness the licentiousness, the injustice, the base hypocrisy, the abominable wickedness that abounds everywhere, yes, in every little community in this wide-spread country; witness the rottenness that pervades and consumes the whole mass of society which calls itself Christian, and then say has Christian morality become a fact! Christianity cannot intend or propose to regenerate the world at large; if it did, then so far it is a failure. No; Christianity would, in its spirit, embrace and redeem all, but all will not be redeemed; and it is no brute force, therefore, while it redeems those who will, who are susceptible, the few who hunger and thirst after righteousness, who are mourners in this world of hideous vileness and injustice, who are persecuted for righteousness' sake; these, such Christianity saves; in them the standard of Christ is realized; and only inasmuch as they are persecuted for his sake, and thus are brought into conformity with him, being made perfect through suffering. To suppose that Christianity proposes, or rather that it will in the end — for it would if it could; — to suppose that it ever will regenerate the whole world and make all men holy, is, we affirm, a grand, a profound mistake, a melancholy delusion. It is to misunderstand the whole scheme of redemption; it is to misinterpret Scripture; it is

in the end to go over to infidelity and to throw up the whole thing as a failure. Any who expect thus to see the world gradually being regenerated and rendered purer and holier, will find themselves sadly mistaken. And if the belief in Christianity as a divine institution rests upon such a basis, it will in the end prove to be but a foundation of sand. Christianity, in its idea and in its spirit, would include all mankind and redeem them from the dominion of sin. But as to its result, that such will be the case, is another thing. Christianity offered itself as a salvation to the Jews; but what was the result? We must remember that man has a say in the matter. The nation, as a mass, rejected Christianity, crucified its founder, and cast Him out. Only the true Israel, a few, a remnant, were saved. The proposal of God was to all; but few would close with it. The resultant, the drift of the age, the Divine will realized, appears in the remnant which was saved. Just so under the present dispensation. The resultant, from the complex forces of Christianity, as now directed and acting upon the Gentile portion of humanity, the resultant will again appear as in the former case in the regeneration and redemption of only a few. The world at large—Christian society as it calls itself—ever rejects Christianity; steels itself against the efficacy of its forces; will not have its Lord to reign over it. Thus, so far from the Christian standard becoming that of the world at large, it tramples it under foot, and oftentimes persecutes those who would make it theirs. Christianity, then, would save all; but of course can only benefit those who, feeling their need and its fulness, submit themselves to it, and open themselves to the operation of its forces.

The doctrine of progress predominant in this age, now current, has its root in this delusion. It assumes, that in the world, the presence of Christianity will have this effect,



that gradually penetrating human society, it will in the end take entire possession of it, that it will finally regenerate it, that is, make it pure and holy — make it, in fact, a heaven of this sin-stricken world of ours. Pursuant to such a theory, it is thought that perceptibly, society, within the pale of Christianity, is growing better, purer, and holier. But when, on a closer inspection, this appears to be false; when, on the contrary, it seems that society — even Christian, as it calls itself — is growing every day more corrupt, that rottenness is eating out its very vitals, that shams and abominable wickedness more or less open, as shams are more or less prevalent, are the order of the day; when, we say, such appears to be the true state of the case, what then becomes of this doctrine? Either it is false; either Christianity does not mean this, or else it is a failure. And if this view of Christianity be false, where then is there a basis for this tremendous doctrine of progress? Certainly there is no basis for such a formula in the pages of history. Empires and nations are like individuals; like them they are born, they grow, arrive at maturity, then begin to decline, and finally pass away out of existence. Every nation, like every individual, has its individuality, has its peculiar characteristic, has its destiny, its own idea to realize; and, having done its work, it passes out into oblivion. Such certainly is the teaching of history; there is no sign of progress there. The truth is, this doctrine owes most of its power to the present theories of physical science. Originally it sprung out of a false view of Christianity; but this origin is now very generally lost sight of; and having been adopted and applied to scientific investigation, and apparently being an excellent working formula, being exactly suited to the disclosures of science in the fields of geology, animal life, and the universe generally, it has been thoroughly appropriated by science and become its general working formula.

Analogies naturally fascinate the human mind, which always delights to find one key which apparently will unlock all the treasures of knowledge. The human mind delights in supposing it has found the clue by which to unravel the mysteries of the Universe. Hence the fascination of this doctrine of progress, which has now been appropriated by all the departments of science, and has become, not only in these branches, but in all others, the general formula with which to explain the universe. It is applied to everything. No one questions its veracity; every one adopts it as an ultimate and absolute truth. It is this apparent adaptation of this formula for the unveiling and unravelment of all the mysteries of natural science that constitutes its power. And this in its turn being reinforced and apparently confirmed by a certain construction of Christianity, renders it, as a doctrine, invincible. The mind of the age is fascinated, seizes hold upon it, and makes it its universal "organon" of knowledge.

So far as natural science is concerned, as an "organon" perhaps it is valuable, perhaps it is true; perhaps Lyell is right, and Darwin, and Kant, and the whole system of evolutionism as applied to mind and matter. Perhaps nebulosity is the ancestor of matter, of the world; perhaps protoplasm is the origin and creator of man, and perhaps of angels, too; perhaps this nebulosity and protoplasm, and something else we suppose,—which makes these two things develop and so become now what they were not before,—perhaps these three things, or only the two, are God. It looks as if this is what these nebulosity and protoplasm men would have us to conclude. Perhaps, we say, this doctrine of development or progress, or evolution, or whatever you choose to call it, holds good in all these cases; still, this is no reason why it will do so in history, nor in Christianity. Why? Because when we strike man in his-

tory we strike free agency, — we come into contact with a new element, with man a sinful creature, but at the same time a free agent. Progress, then, and development and evolution, may be the rule of God's action in nature, and even in man's physiological constitution. But when once the human being, a free agent, comes into existence, a new element, a new force is introduced within time and space, and human history will inevitably present many complex phenomena. God and the free agent both, are powers ; God for good, man being sinful and therefore dual in his constitution, will exhibit contradictions, — sometimes yielding to the good, he will move in one direction ; at other times resisting it and yielding himself to the evil, he will present another spectacle. The history of man, then, from an *à priori* point of view, even should progress be a true formula for the divine, will exhibit something more : whether a progress or a retrogression, who can foretell ? Christianity, so far as it is prophetic, would conclude this question ; and there is room here for difference of opinion. Some interpret it as being conclusive as to a final universal triumph, when all the world will become good and pure and holy, a millennium on earth. But here the difficulty already stated presents itself. If this is so, if progress be the law of Christianity, is it being realized ? If it is, then this interpretation is correct ; but if not, if the world is not perceptibly growing better, then, if this interpretation be maintained as being the true one, Christianity is a failure and false. Others, again, have their doubts as to this being the correct view of Christianity. Its offers and proffers they consider as being general, but as a system, neither prophetically nor doctrinally do they consider it as committed to the doctrine of the final regeneration of a whole, then existing world. To such, it appears that the doctrine of progress as immanent in the scheme of Redemption, is encountered, by the fact

of the free agency of man. The resultant from these opposing forces is considered to be the final aim of the Christian scheme. According to this view, the regeneration of a certain final mass of humanity in a future age of the world is not the grand aim of Christianity, but it is rather the salvation of those who will be saved,—the poor in spirit, those who hunger and thirst after righteousness, God's elect. Christianity, according to this view, proposes to crystallize around its great Head and Founder all who are susceptible of divine influences, the whole flock or sheep of Christ wherever scattered abroad over the face of the world. Indirectly, it affects the rest of the world. As a law applicable to the conscience, necessarily, as in the case of the law under the Old Testament, it acts more or less as a restraint upon open and flagrant sin; it acts as a kind of moral police, restraining evil somewhat through the conscience,—through that general conscience, the voice of public opinion, and through the civil code which this necessitates. But this is what any standard of morality, under every other system of religion, does, and is a very different thing from the work of regeneration, a changing of the heart of humanity. Perhaps under the Christian system open vice is more restrained than under any other; but skepticism and infidelity can at any time undo all this, as it has done already in other times in history. Witness, in modern times, the case of the French revolution; the action of the Commune; witness what is now being enacted all around us as infidelity gradually advances.

Christianity, it would seem, as a system, is a favor, a gift entrusted to a nation or people, who are thereby put on trial as to how they will use it. As long as a people or nation continues to have faith in it and to profit by it, it is not removed; but when a people or nation *en masse* loses all faith in it, then it is taken away, and given to others

who are more fitted for it, and who will be glad to get it, and who, under its teachings, bring forth the fruits of righteousness. Thus it was in the case of the Jews, and thus, St. Paul tells us, will it also happen to the Gentiles. "because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith be not high-minded, but fear, for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he spare not thee." The justice, even more, the necessity, of such a course is manifest. When a nation loses all faith in a system, necessarily it can do it no more good ; they do not want it themselves, and practically reject it, consequently, it is time for it to be taken away, and given to another which will value it more. It is a serious matter when a people begin to lose faith in their religious system ; its end is near at hand : distrust comes first, then disbelief, and finally a rejection of the religious system. If, then, progress, as applied to the history of man, means that man as a race is becoming gradually better and purer and holier, and that the end will be an absolutely good world, a heaven upon earth,—if this be the meaning of the doctrine of progress, as applied to man, then it is not the doctrine of Christianity ; for, if it were, Christianity would be a failure, its resultant not being in accordance with the demands of such a doctrine. The law of progress is not then applicable, as an organon, to Christianity for its construing, nor for the interpretation of the history of the human race. However useful and true it may be as applied in other departments of knowledge, it is a fallacy to apply it in this.

The "drift of the age," then, is not properly a progress, nor a retrogression ;—whither it is, towards what, we know not ; therefore it is folly to call it by such names. Still, it is a movement, and, as such, can be detected, laid hold upon, and held firmly before the consciousness of the skilled observer, who can examine it, note down his observations,

and communicate them to others. This observation being once made, naturally the mind proceeds to reflect upon it; and since such a movement is a result, the philosophical mind begins at once to inquire into its causes; this leads, when the movement is one occurring in times past, to an exact study of history, in order to detect if possible its causes; but, when the movement observed is a contemporaneous one, or when the process is then taking place before the eyes of the observer, in such cases he looks not into the pages of history, but into the condition of contemporaneous society. There the inquirer is to detect the causes of the movement, and to see how it is being brought about. Here then we are to note the observations of a mind which is engaged in watching the workings of a present state of society; which is trying to catch sight of the forces which are gradually being evolved and coming into play, which is reflecting thereupon, and so seeking an explanation of the movements which are then observed to be taking place in society.

The drift of the age is a fact; it may be observed or it may not, it matters not,—it is inevitable. It is an effect; the resultant flowing from the exercise of the multiform forces ever acting and reacting within the complex sphere of human society; it is as inevitable as is the resultant from active physical forces. What class of men is it that contributes most in producing this human resultant? The nature of the answer to this question depends upon the age in which it is put. The forces which act in society are numerous and inconstant. A force which at one time is all-powerful, is at another, and in another age, uninfluential. Thus at one time Aristotle reigns supreme over the human mind, at another Plato. During certain periods, metaphysics will rule over the thought of the age, and then again they will be in disrepute; and, as is the case at the present time, natural science and the outward will be the

sole influence. At one time society will be deeply susceptible to religious influences; at other times skeptical, hardened, and irreligious. Different powers prevail at different times; and during such periods those who are the representatives in the prevailing and popular school of thought are of course the leaders of society. They are, therefore, most influential in determining during that period the drift of the age. They are not, however, the sole agents in thus determining this current, for there are always at the same time other agencies at work, tending to check this prevailing tendency; and so there being many unequal forces, acting upon the same thing in different directions, the movement consequent, is of the nature of a resultant. And in studying it as such, all these modifying causes should pass under the observation.

An observation of the condition of the society of the present age, reveals to us, as its prevailing tendency, a movement towards an universal skepticism and infidelity. Concurrent with this movement, and essentially connected with it, as can easily be shown, is a movement in both Church and State towards centralization. This centralization movement, we say, is essentially connected with the former. Church and State are the constitutional forms under which society, as being religious and moral, places itself. There are two outward forms which the social and religious spirit of human nature assumes in its outward manifestation. Necessarily, these forms will be effected by the modifications of the spirit which they embody. Infidelity is a spirit, the spirit of a spirit; under its influence the religious spirit wanes, becomes lukewarm, and in the end perishes. The Church is the constitutional form which embodies this religious spirit. The spirit of the Church dying out, the Church is left a form without an indwelling spirit, a carcass. Still, as a form, it remains; and since the en-

ergy of human nature must be exerted on something, inasmuch as there is no spirit to use and direct this energy, man exercises himself with the form. Religion becomes formality, and the Church, as an outward form, an organization, becomes the sole subject of religious interest. Thus men busy themselves about ecclesiastical rather than spiritual affairs, becoming churchmen rather than Christians; and, moreover, the religious spirit having departed, the worldly spirit soon takes its place, and the Church finally becomes a mere worldly organization, perhaps but a political machine. The worldly spirit enters into the body of the Church, and uses its organization for selfish purposes; ambition and selfishness become its ruling influences, and thus the Church, devoid of all true piety, a mere ecclesiastical organization, soon becomes the prey of ambitious and worldly leaders, who gratify their pride, ambition, and worldly lusts by reducing the Church, of which they profess to be members, into a state of despotism. Thus it is that centralization in the Church is coincident with the advance of the infidel spirit; it is directly incident to such a movement in the spirit of the age, — beginning in religious externalization and formality, it ends in centralization and despotism. And the same process is true with respect to the State. With the advance of infidelity, and the consequent increase of irreligion and vice, selfishness and corruption become more and more prevalent. With the increase of vice, by means of corruption, bold, bad men are able to get into power and to maintain their position. This power they of course soon use for selfish purposes, and the end is that the State becomes a despotism. As long as society remains virtuous, its liberties are safe; but as corruption increases, license increases and liberty decreases. The virtuous demand a strong hand to restrain the vicious, and therefore a strong government. The vicious seek the same end for



selfish purposes, because, by thus getting power into their hands, they can plunder their fellow-citizens. So that there is a pressure from both parties towards the same object, namely, centralization, and its inevitable consequent, despotism. Infidelity means irreligion, which begets vice ; which in its turn admits centralization, which finally results in despotism. Virtue is liberty in the State ; vice is slavery and despotism. Hence, then, coincident with the drift of the spirit of the age towards infidelity, concurrent with it, is another movement both in Church and State towards centralization and despotism.

The drift of the age is then, we say, towards skepticism and infidelity. Skepticism is the more general state, infidelity an increase, an intensifying of the same state in its relation to revelation. A state of mind is first excited, which next takes a definite turn and proceeds to deny. Skepticism is a negative state ; it neither affirms nor denies anything. Infidelity affirms a negation, is therefore positive in denying. Thus skepticism generally will precede infidelity. In the state of skepticism the mind becomes unsettled ; former beliefs have been shaken, perhaps destroyed ; the mind has learned to distrust even its own judgments ; it doubts everything ; can believe nothing. And this state of mind, when directed towards revelation and its dogmas, becomes infidelity. It begins by doubting, and ends in disbelieving, and then the infidelity being positive is complete. The mind first passes through a general state, and then, if the disease becomes chronic, it settles itself down into a state of actual, positive disbelief. The drift of this age is as yet in the state of general skepticism ; it is advancing, but has not yet reached the state of positive infidelity. Who, now, is mainly accountable for the determination of this spiritual current ? What force is chiefly instrumental in the elimination of this spiritual resultant ? What class

of men are mainly instrumental in producing this state of skepticism and in gradually intensifying it in the direction of infidelity? Certainly not the pulpit; it, alas! melancholy spectacle! is powerless against the advancing tide. The voice of the pulpit is weak; it is scarcely heard amid the din of the conflicting elements in opposition. The pulpit does not indeed seem to be aware of the danger which the cause it professes to advocate is in. If it were, perhaps it would lift up its voice and cry rather more earnestly and somewhat louder than it does; but, alas! the pulpit sentinels are asleep at their posts. Some of them have even deserted, and, in order to be popular, to stand well with the thinkers of the day, have left their posts and gone over to the opposition. Thus we too often hear from the pulpit geological or ethnological, or other such scientific theories, used as a rule for Scriptural interpretation; and although the Bible, the basis of the pulpit, is so explicit in its statements, we hear propounded theories made to correspond with the utterances of a Lyell, a Huxley, or a Darwin. Thus the pulpit, yielding to the philosophy of the day, adopts *its* theories, and leaves its own truths. It baptizes science, and uses it, as a rule of interpretation for Scripture; and since the theories of science are ever changing, the pulpit, to keep up with the times, must change too. So the canons of interpretation are continually shifting. Thus the pulpit manages to sap its own basis, and to destroy in men's minds the little influence that it has left. True, the pulpit is not influential in directing this movement, nor is it in stemming it. It is afraid to examine its own basis, is too much inclined to apologize for the unscientific nature of the Bible, therefore it falters, stammers, is unable to meet the doubts of the inquirer; thus indirectly it is instrumental in increasing the spirit of skepticism, already so prevalent.

The status of the pulpit, then, at present, is this: It does

not lead the spirit of the age, nor does it boldly withstand and by its energy essay to stem it. The drift of the age is toward the abyss, toward the false and the evil. The pulpit, we fear, fails to do its duty. It should at least boldly stem the current, though it cannot counteract and turn it. After all, it is not the province of the pulpit to lead the drift of the age. It has not done so since the first triumph of Christianity ; inevitably, it succumbs to the philosophy of the age,—witness in our day the pulpit of Germany succumbing to the philosophy of Rationalism ; witness what is now taking place among ourselves. The preacher is but a man, and goes into the pulpit with the philosophy which he has imbibed in the schools and from the literature of the age. He will then inevitably interpret Scripture in accordance with the canons of the prevailing philosophy, which, as at present, happens to be that of physical science.

Platonism was the first of the Western philosophies which succeeded in exercising an influence upon the Christian mind. Alexandria—the second Athens of philosophy—was the place where this influence was first felt. The Neo-Platonism of Ammonius Saccas, and his disciple Plotinus, a reaction against the all but hopeless skepticism of the then heathen world, was but an eclectic attempt to harmonize the Eastern and Western philosophies—Aristotle and Plato—with Orientalism. Neo-Platonism became the philosophy of Alexandria, which was the intellectual centre of the then world. Origen, the great founder of Christian philosophy, was entirely under the influence of this school of thought, and he, be it observed, was at the head of the theological school, or seminary, of Alexandria. Here, then, originated the Alexandrian school of Christian philosophy, a *tertium quid*, arising out of the application of the principles of Neo-Platonism to the interpretation of the doctrines of the Christian revelation. And such was the source out of

which the pulpit was to draw its inspiration. This was the method of Christian thought, the school of Christian theology for the age; necessarily, then, the pulpit must have been Neo-Platonic in its utterances.

The application of the Aristotelian method to theology in the Middle Ages gave rise to what is known as the theology of the schools, or scholastic theology, of which Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus were representative men. Out of the schools proceeded the pulpit, what there was of it, and necessarily, therefore, the pulpit must have been scholastic: during the period in which the masters could, with all gravity, discuss the solemn question whether an angel could stand on the point of a needle, the pulpit was almost, if not altogether, dumb, being superseded by ceremonialism.

Under the influence of the scholastic theology, the pulpit — we say, as a regular instrumentality in the Church — died out. But although the clergy had lost all life, the body of the Church had not; reaction commenced there. The mendicant friars came from the laity; and a sagacious Pope, seeing at once where the life of the Church really was, at once adopted it, encouraged it, and commissioned these mendicant orders to be the pulpit of the Church. The friars did not speak to the people in the language of the schools; their very existence was a protest against such a system of Christianity. The theme of their preaching was, "Repent ye, repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." And very soon the pulpit thus conducted began again to become an influence in the Church. The friars went in the spirit and power of the second Elijah; and this was their mission, to bring the age, to repentance towards God. Luther, and the Reformation, completed the work, and the age having been brought to repentance, was ready and willing to receive the gospel. The Reformation was

another advent of Christ; and those who were ready went in to the marriage before the door was shut.

It is evident to any careful observer, that there are transition periods in the history of the world. There are transition periods in the realm of thought; in social institutions, customs, and manners; and in forms of government. Such is the period under which we are living. In the realm of thought, the one now under consideration, there is the decided evidence of such a transition; the philosophy of the past, is passing away, another philosophy is taking its place.

What form of philosophy, it may justly be asked, has been the prevalent one up to the present time? Not the Platonic: Plato, in his system, starts from the top and comes down. He begins with the absolute, the *ov*, the unconditioned, God; his method is therefore intuition. Aristotle begins on the earth and ascends upwards; his method is therefore observation: he is the father of the scientific method. At present, Platonism, or rather Neo-Platonism, — the Alexandrian version of Platonism, with its method, — would seem to be the prevalent philosophy of Germany; it arose soon after the Reformation, and is still, it would appear, the thought of Germany. With us, however, it is otherwise. The Anglo-Saxon mind has a natural affinity for the Aristotelian system; the Teutonic for the Platonic. The present age, so far as concerns ourselves, has no complete system of philosophy. The turning point in the history of philosophy, so far as concerns us, was in the triumph of the sensation theory of Locke. Locke's theory of the understanding is not a complete philosophy; it is only the application of the Aristotelian method to one branch of knowledge; an account of the manner by which we acquire ideas, or get our knowledge. The success of this theory has, apparently, much simplified philosophy. Since, according to it, we can know nothing but through the senses, philos-

ophy has therefore now become materialism. We are in a transition state; passing out of the chaotic into the cosmic. The method of Aristotle, as remodelled and reorganized by Lord Bacon, is now, among us, exclusively employed, and a complete system of philosophy will no doubt be the final result. Aristotle never completed his system. God and the Universe were not by him satisfactorily formulated. A system of philosophy, to be complete, must comprehend and explain the universe. It must be a theosophy as well as a science; God and the universe, mind and matter, must fall under its categories and be explained. So far, we have had a Platonic God, the *εἶς*, the absolute and unconditioned; we have had the God of Oriental dualism, the principles of good and evil, Ormuzd and Ahriman; have had the Old Testament God, Jehovah; the Christian triune God; but the God of science, the theogony of Aristotelianism, yet remains to be formulated. A complete philosophy must give us a theogony, a cosmogony, an anthropogony, a philosophy of history, and an eschatology, or an account of things, on to eternity. Until this is accomplished the system will be incomplete.

The scientific system,—the Aristotelian we may call it,—with its method of induction, is, then, the one that we are destined to evolve; which has already laid fast hold upon our age, which has ousted Platonism, and which is finally to subdue all things unto itself. A struggle is, then, now about to begin; and just as Neo-Platonism, in the person of an Origen, forced its way within the pale of Christianity and formulated Christian doctrine according to its principles, so now Aristotelianism, or the scientific system, is about to do. Already the Scripture cosmogony has fallen before it, and soon perhaps the other branches of revealed doctrine will do likewise. Science is but yet in her infancy; she has not yet formulated God, nor the universe; therefore, as yet, there

is nothing positively enunciated with which revelation must be forced to accommodate itself. Science has not yet, like Platonism, its God, nor its universal substance: as a philosophy it will have to be more complete, before it can entirely supplant the system of revelation.

The accommodation of one school of thought to the demands of another, is always possible, unless they be antagonistic; but whenever done, it is, by a species of eclecticism, the result of which will be a *tertium quid*, neither the one system nor the other. Thus it was in the case of the Alexandrian theology; the doctrinal system of Origen, its founder, who applied the principles of Neo-Platonism to revelation, resulted in a new system, a Neo-Platonic Christian philosophy, a theology peculiar to the schools of Alexandria, a system which speedily captivated the philosophic mind of the day, which spread rapidly over the whole of Eastern Christendom, and has appeared, rising again to the surface, in this age and among ourselves, as a reaction against the scientific tendency of the times.

The application of a scientific form of thought, and of its method, to the interpretation of revelation, must, as it happened in the former case, have an effect in modifying our views of revealed doctrines. If the two systems are not antagonistic, which is yet to be seen, the result will be a *tertium quid*, a new system of theology; but if the systems prove at variance, one or the other of them will go down. Neo-Platonism was susceptible of such an accommodation; is this true of science? Neo-Platonism essayed to explain revelation; science, however, from present appearances, presumes to deny it. The philosophy of science, is fast filling out itself, as a system of thought; already it has its theory for the creation of the world and of man, a cosmogony, and an anthropogony; or rather its anthropogony is but one link in a chain of evolution which would explain

all animal existence. Evolutionism, as applied to life and matter, aims at accounting for the existence and continuance of the universe. Still, a theogony is wanted; or perhaps under this system it may become unnecessary: should it become evident that there is no God, evolutionism must result either in Pantheism or Atheism, in either of which cases an account of God, a theism, will become unnecessary; atheism requires none; Pantheism gives us God in giving the universe. If, then, the system appears to be complete without a God, as distinct from the universe, then it will be complete as a system of philosophy; and if, in its positions, it be antagonistic to the Scriptures, as it certainly is, there can certainly be no possibility of any accommodation, but only a struggle for supremacy.

Evidently, then, the pulpit should be extremely cautious in adopting the canons of this as yet unknown philosophy, and should be careful as yet in seeking to accommodate the teachings of revelation with its dicta; for, so far, it is impossible to say whether this philosophy will permit such an accommodation; perhaps it may prove to be opposed to the teachings of revelation, irreconcilable with it.

A transition period is one in which great caution should be exercised. We should be careful in not surrendering the old, prematurely, before the new is sufficiently established. In the breaking up of former things, there is always much confusion; and thus it is, at the present day, in the realm of thought. As yet, no one system of philosophy has taken entire possession of the thought of the age. In Germany, Neo-Platonism is perhaps most prevalent; in England and in this country the scientific system. Still, with us, all is not settled. In many minds there is already a reaction against science, a tendency towards Platonism. Boston, the Athens of America, the centre of American thought, exhibits both tendencies; inclining, perhaps, towards Platonism rather



than towards Scientism. The best minds of Boston evidently lean toward the Neo-Platonic *ov*. Calvinism, a theosophy drawn from the Old Testament, is fast losing its hold as a system of religious thought; Neo-Platonism, and the system of science — Aristotle resuscitated and revised — will from henceforth contend for the mastery in securing the thought of the age; Origen will again be exhumed and studied, as being one of the lights of the Christian world; a protest against the dogmatism of science.

Amid all these fluctuations, changings, and shiftings of conflicting currents, with a steady undertow toward skepticism and infidelity; in the midst of an intellectual age feverish and restless, the pulpit finds itself still standing, a Divine institution, — what course is it to pursue in order to discharge its duty? how is it to maintain its integrity, against such a tremendous pressure?

The pulpit, strictly as such, is confined within the limits of the method of personal address. Its aim is to influence men as individualities; to bring each person into contact with the vital truths of Christianity. "Repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ," are, or ought to be, the watchwords of the pulpit. And while the waves of controversy and of intellectual agitation may surge up to the very church-doors, still all should be firm and calm within. "Strong in faith," the pulpit must hurl against the conscience of society the thunderbolt of the law, calling upon men to repent, because the kingdom of heaven is at hand; and then again, in the calm, still accents of the Saviour of men, it must conduct to Him all who are weary and heavy-laden, that they may find rest for their souls. The pulpit, directly, has nothing to do with the drift of the age. It must stem it, and resist the importation of the philosophy of the schools within its sacred precincts; but this is all it can do, directly, in this cause. The battle for

the control of this tremendous spirit, must be fought outside of the pulpit. The clergy, it is true, can and ought, through their pens, to enter the arena and do battle for the cause of the truth; but the pulpit had best stand true to its own peculiar province.

In former ages, before the invention of printing, and even subsequently, in less intellectual ages than the present, when men read little and there were comparatively few books, the pulpit was much more influential in determining the drift of society than it is now; and it attempted more. An observation of the literature of the pulpit will show that the field of its operation is being slowly, but at the same time surely, restricted; that it is being reduced gradually within its own proper limits. In the crude states of society, the pulpit becomes used for all manner of purposes, and is as much a political engine—rather more so—than a religious one. In the Southern States, where the slaves have been but recently emancipated, where that portion of society is in a rude, almost barbarous condition, this general use of the pulpit for all purposes, especially as a political engine, is very observable. The pulpit is worldly; the preachers politicians and demagogues. As society advances in civilization, each profession finds its province more clearly defined for it; and the pulpit would do well should it observe this fact, and learn at once to confine itself within its own legitimate limits.

Skepticism is a condition of mind. As descriptive of any particular age or period, it is the condition of the general mind; as a fact, it is a result, brought about by forces, which must have been for some time operating. Every age of the world has its own peculiar psychical and mental condition. There is an age of religious earnestness, wherein the consciousness of God is the predominant psychical element. Then there is the reaction, the age of religious dead-

ness, when God, as an element of the consciousness, ceases to be felt as an influence, and the religious consciousness becomes sapped, being overborne by the consciousness of self and of the world ; this is the age of rationalism, and so far as concerns the psychical element of worldliness. During such periods, men give themselves over to the service of their worldly instincts ; materialism becomes the philosophy of the age ; material prosperity, in any or all of its forms, the passion, the very idol of the world. Strange as it may seem, the age of rationalism is at the same time the age of superstition. The religious instincts and consciousness, of the mass of humanity, cannot for any length of time be repressed. And when, through the agency of a period of destructive criticism, the previously existing form of religion has been swept away, men will make for themselves a new religion ; and thus, if they can find nothing to believe in, they will deify ghosts, and will worship the manes of their ancestors. This was pretty much, so far as relates to the supernatural, the religion of Confucius. Finding nothing very definite concerning God in the records of the ancients, which he so assiduously studied, and who were the objects of his profoundest veneration, he seizes hold upon what he thus finds in himself, namely, his veneration for the ancients, which, with him, becomes a worship, and this he offers to his countrymen as a religion. Confucius is the representative of a skeptical age ; he lays hold upon the only reality he can find, which is in himself, and happens, in his case, to be a veneration for his ancestors and the ancients, — especially, it would seem, for the all-wise and powerful Yaou and Shun ; and this he makes a religion. Augustus Comte, another representative man in a skeptical age, also lays hold upon what he finds the only reality in his consciousness, the love of woman, and makes her the object of his worship. He calls it the worship of humanity ;

but it is in fact nothing but that of woman. This principle of Comte's is by no means a new one. It underlies the present Roman Catholic system; for what does the Romanist now worship? Is it not the Virgin Mary? Comte living in a Catholic country, surrounded by Roman influences, naturally adopts that system. He simply ignores the historical: takes the woman, and leaves the historical Virgin; and perhaps even yet this religion of Comte's may prove a success; for its Roman Catholic ancestor, the worship of the Virgin Mary, has been by no means a failure. It is the same principle that is involved in the worship of the heathen goddesses. The same principle which in the ancient world led to the apotheosis of woman in the heathen goddesses, in more modern ages has wrought the same result in the apotheosis of the Virgin Mary. This worship of the Virgin has not, as yet, degenerated into anything impure; only because of its historical association. Comte having severed this, his system may yet, in this or the next century, revive the impure mysteries of an Aphrodite, of an Astarté, or an Ashtaroth; such worship being adapted to the age, under the designation of the worship of humanity. Comte is then by no means singular or original in this respect; he has simply adopted as a religion that principle which was to be found existing all around him, which had its entire cultus under the old heathen régime, and its present cultus in the Roman Church in its whole system of Mariolatry. Huxley, too, acts in a similar manner; he finds himself inspired with awe and reverence in the contemplation of nature; therefore the worship of nature becomes his religion, it is the only reality he can lay hold upon in his religious consciousness; and this is really nothing but a return to the Sabatism of Arabia and Chaldea, and to the sun-worship of the ancient Persians and of the Aztec races. The general mass cannot, however, rest satisfied with a religion of such abstrac-

tion, and learn soon to betake themselves to the devices of superstition ; ghosts, devils, hobgoblins, soon will become the objects of their reverence, or rather fears, and thus of their worship. Contradictory as it may seem, yet it is observable, that men who are absolutely materialistic in their views, are at the same time excessively superstitious. These are the men you will find leaning towards spiritualism ; who are fond of speculating upon the mysteries of mesmerism ; who attend spiritual-rapping meetings, and who think at the same time that they are only intensely scientific. In reality, as is apparent to all others, they are but the slaves of superstition. That reaction which takes place in the mass, in a skeptical age, has taken place too in them, in their own skeptical consciousness.

There is, then, an age of religious earnestness, and an age of rationalism ; which, resulting in a general skepticism, carries in it materialism, and its inherent reaction, superstition.

The religious age is sapped and finally undermined by means of a destructive criticism, which must soon make its appearance in every religious age. There is a constructive, but there is also a destructive criticism ; the first is valuable, the latter but an engine put in operation by the power of evil, acting through evil men. This sapping proceeds gradually, and in its effects, is for a long time not apparent ; but its work is sure, and the existing structure will in the end feel its power, and must succumb to it, unless, as we believe of Christianity, it be of God, against which it is expressly written, the gates of hell shall not prevail. Christianity must stand ; but any of its existing forms may disappear : true, it must ever manifest itself under some form, that is as a Church, but not necessarily under any of the forms now existing. This destructive criticism, like all evils in this world, is made to work for good ; it has its use,

though it be of the devil, in its intentions; and no doubt he feels the mortification of the damned, in that all his malicious manœuvres should thus be foiled and turned to good effect by the Almighty. Everything that has in it the element of the human, must soon find within itself the seeds of decay. The human brings with it the evil. Things, institutions which were good originally, gradually become corrupt, and finally absolutely rotten. They must, therefore, be overturned, and the good freed again must take a new form. This destructive criticism in hurling its arrows at what is palpably evil, with the bad intention of destroying the good, fails in its intent. The structure falls; but in its fall the good is set free, is eliminated, and enters into new combinations. Thus it was with the Christian Church, thus it is now, and thus it ever will be. Abuses cluster around everything that is good in this world. The Christian Church, at its beginning, was an excellent institution; but what did it finally become?—the most absolute, grinding, tyrannical despotism, that has ever been invented. Holding the consciences of men in its grasp, it had them absolutely in its power, and in its day has verily ruled the world with a rod of iron. All human institutions become corrupt—a very den for evil spirits to dwell in. All forms of civil government prove eventually a failure; abuses gradually enter in, and like parasites twine their deadly arms around the institution, sending their rootlets within its every crevice and cranny, until exhausted, sapped of its life, the institution becomes rotten, and deserves to be cut down. Therefore a destructive criticism, a ruthless radicalism,—which is such a criticism, become an actual, practical life,—has, we say, its uses. The rotten institution should be swept away, it only cumber the ground; and so the good is set free, and is able to construct a form for itself again; again to pass through the same fatal process of dissolution.

The popular literature of this age is destructive in its tendency. The utterances of a Carlyle find a response in almost every bosom. The age is dissatisfied ; a destructive criticism has all but done its work. Old beliefs are being broken up ; old creeds falling into pieces ; we know not what to believe ; we are drifting out upon the wild ocean of doubt. The spirit of the age, in its practical bearing, is therefore radical. Old things are passing away ; all things must become new. These, therefore, are times of convulsions ; "men's hearts failing for fear and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth ;" signs there are "in the sun and in the moon and in the stars, and upon the earth distress of nations with perplexity, the sea and the waves roaring." For the "powers of heaven are being shaken." Perhaps the end is not yet ; or perhaps we have before us the prelude of the second coming of the Son of Man. And even though it be not His final advent, still He must come. The good must be set free ; the kingdom of heaven must in the end emerge victorious. Perhaps soon a new era is to begin, and we are but in the throes of its parturition.

It is evident where the pulpit ought to plant its foot in such an age. Its utterances should be as from a trumpet, with no uncertain sound — precise, clear, and firm. Is this the case ?

The present age is one of great intellectual activity ; the brains and pens of the period are busy. The press is the great engine of our times : the drift of the age is determined through its instrumentality. The organization of the forces acting within and upon society, in the determination of this tendency, is becoming every day more thorough ; and every man, worker, thinker, and speaker, is learning to know his proper place. The pulpit seems, however, to be somewhat at a loss in finding its place, and therefore knows not exactly how

to address itself to Christian society. If it be its province and duty to direct the drift of the age, then manifestly it is a failure; for the age drifts on, the pulpit to the contrary notwithstanding; dragging the pulpit after it, but too often. If, however, it confine itself to the individual; to bringing each individual soul to a consciousness of its sinfulness and guilt; to a vital realization of its deplorable and lost condition: if, moreover, in the spirit of its founder, it lead such souls to Christ, and succeed in getting them to appropriate the life-giving truths of redemption;—if, then, it can kindle in man's heart, through the consciousness of sin, that of redemption, and so bring about a reconciliation between man and God, so that man will learn to love his God and his Saviour;—if the pulpit, we say, will but stand to this position, and aim at this end, it may yet recover itself, and prove a success, and a blessing to poor, miserable, fallen humanity. Add to this, of course, the edification of the regenerate, the pupilage and training of those who have thus appropriated the truths of redemption, the edification of the Church, leading it forward in the footsteps of its founder, Christ; take these two duties together, and you have the proper sphere, the province, the duty of the Christian pulpit enunciated.

Against those who have been influenced thus, and are within the pale of such a fold, the surges of skepticism and infidelity will ever beat in vain; for they are founded upon a rock. What they believe, they know; consciousness is their witness, a living witness which cannot be disbelieved. They are firm; not even the surges of hell can wash them from their moorings. The drift of the ages roar by them, but all is still within; “the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keeps their hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God and of His Son Jesus Christ, their Lord.” “Upon this Rock,” says the great Founder, “will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against



it." The pulpit must plant its foot firmly here, upon this Rock, and not attempt to satisfy itching ears by falling in with the tone of any and every spirit of every and of any age. No principle can be more fatal to the legitimate influence of the pulpit, than the one now becoming, but too rapidly, fixed within the Christian Church, namely, that the pulpit must discuss "the questions of the day." The pulpit is not an institution for the day, but for eternity. The subjects with which it should deal, are the same, yesterday, to-day, and forever. The popularizing and sensationalizing of the pulpit is a mortal error, and, if persisted in, will inevitably destroy it, or rather there will be no pulpit to destroy.

It is a noticeable fact that the pulpit, as it is now very generally conducted, does not enlist the general interest of Christian society. Perhaps, as a rule, this has ever been the case ; perhaps it is only during periods of religious excitement, when the religious consciousness of the age has been profoundly stirred, that the pulpit has, for any length of time, been able to hold the interests of Christian society ; but however this may be, it is evident now, that the pulpit is not the influence that it should be in every Christian community. The churches are but scantily attended, though the occasions of assembling are but few ; men have learned very generally to absent themselves from public worship ; the mass of the congregation is women. Christian society is suffering under a spiritual torpor, and the pulpit seems to be unable to rouse the consciences and spiritual energies of the people from it. There is an action and a reaction observable ; the pulpit lacks energy and vitality ; the people are listless and uninterested. This condition of the people reacts upon the pulpit, making it lose faith in its efficacy, and so it becomes still more lukewarm ; which in its turn reacts again on the people, and increases the evil.

The truths of redemption are not proclaimed, as they should be, with living energy, with clearness, and precision. The pulpit wants power and unction. It fails to arrest men's attention, to arouse them from the torpor of worldliness, and to awaken them to the reality of the spiritual. The pulpit needs the infusion of that vital, energizing force resulting from a living faith in the realities of eternity. A numbness is creeping over it, and its effects are already visible. The Christian community, borne along by the spirit of the age, is unsettled. Eternity and the spiritual, are being forgotten. Society is rapidly sinking into the abyss of worldliness. The consciousness of the world, is the predominant psychical condition; and worldliness, in all its forms, is becoming the passion of the age. Material interests are the only ones, and men are fast learning to expend their energies in the worship of mammon, rather than in the service of God. What little religious energy there is left, naturally, under such a condition of things, takes an outward, rather than an inward direction. Thus, ecclesiasticism, in all its pomp and fanfaronade, is fast becoming the order of the day. With the decay of spirituality, ecclesiasticism increases. The Church, in its outward aspects, becomes the only subject of religious interest; and thus while men will build handsome cathedrals, they will cease to attend the preaching of the gospel. They will glory in the worldly power and grandeur of the ecclesiastical organization to which they belong, and will labor arduously and contend for ecclesiastical domination; but all this while the spirit is dead. There is a form, but no spirit; an ecclesiastical carcass. The consequence is inevitable: no pulpit, an arrogant priesthood, religious fanfaronade, ecclesiastical despotism. Such, it seems, are the signs of the times; such the vortex, into which the drift of the age, unless stemmed in time, must finally plunge the Christian community.

Such, then, is the present status of the pulpit, in its inherent condition, in its relation to society, and to that mighty current which we have designated the "drift of the age." As a spiritual force, it does not act directly upon this movement ; nor is it mainly instrumental in determining its direction. The drift of the present age being towards the abyss, the pulpit can do no more than stem it. If it stand fast itself and hold its own, it will do well.

In the midst of a skeptical age ; amid national convulsions, whirling vortices of corruption ; amid a philosophy of materialism, and Radicalism ; amid an adulterous and unbelieving generation, let the pulpit, trumpet-tongued, like a second John the Baptist, lift up its voice and cry, " Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand ; " let it, like another Elijah on the top of Carmel, boldly demand, " How long halt ye between two opinions ; if Jehovah be God, then follow Him ; but if Baal, then follow him." Are the clergy, like faithful sentinels standing at their posts, ready to give the alarm, and to fight, if needs be, even unto death, for the cause in which they are engaged ? Let the pulpits, which in an exigency like the present dare to become mute, answer this question. Christian ministers of the nineteenth century ; Christ expects every man to do his duty.

## CHAPTER V.

### UNIVERSALISM AND CALVINISM.

TO any one who will observe, it cannot but appear that a new belief is fast establishing itself in the mind of the age. Evidently, the doctrine of Universalism is making steady progress, towards a much more general reception, than it has hitherto met with, within the pale of Christendom. Universalism, as a system of belief, means this: that man, the whole human race, one and all, must and will ultimately be virtuous and happy. It demands that the human race should in the end be recovered, and restored finally to a state of unalloyed happiness. It grants that happiness is impossible without virtue; it therefore holds to a restoration to virtue, and through it to the final consummation of an universal happiness. According, then, to this system, life, and all history, is but a drama, whose denouement will entitle it to the name of "All's well that ends well." The denouement may be a long time delayed; it is granted that men pass out of this world unrepentant, vicious, and therefore themselves necessarily unhappy, and a source of unhappiness to others; but it is supposed that this state will not always continue, that God's merciful dealings will follow the vicious into another world, and that although the time of repentance may be more or less delayed, yet the sinner will in the end yield to the continued solicitations of a merciful God, and repent; that eternity is sufficient to effect such a change in the case of the most adamant sinner;

and so all will finally be brought to repentance, to virtue, and so to happiness. Thus, according to this theory, the whole world must, and finally, will be saved; there will be no more sin; sorrow and crying for the whole mundane universe will be done away with; all things will be recapitulated, and renewed. Logically, this scheme does not stop with man, it includes the whole moral and intelligent universe. In its final statement, it demands the destruction, the annihilation, the removal of all evil, out of God's moral universe.

This doctrine of a final restoration is by no means new; under some form or other it appears to have ever existed, as an item in the religious creed of mankind. The doctrine of a transmigration of souls, or, as the Greeks have designated it, metempsychosis, implies such a final restoration. According to that doctrine, the souls of those who had not on this earth, in their lifetime, prepared themselves for a higher state of existence, were doomed, in punishment of their misdeeds, and as a means of purification, to return to mundane existence, and to pass successively through the various forms of animal life, returning finally to human existence again, and then again undergoing a state of probation. Thus, an endless series of transmigrations was connected, until the soul having suffered its dues, and having been purified, was at length fitted for a higher sphere of existence. Connected with this doctrine, and out of it, arose that of the pre-existence of the soul. Some philosophers actually assert, that they remember having existed previously to their then life; Pythagoras asserts, that he remembers having assisted the Greeks at the siege of Troy, and being slain by Menelaus, king of Sparta. Others thought, that sometimes, there flashed upon the consciousness the intimation of a previous state of existence; and it must be confessed that there is something in what these

philosophers say to which our own consciousness can bear witness to. Most of us have felt at times that same strange feeling to which these writers allude—a dim, confused, seeming recollection, of having seen the same place, or of having heard the same thing before; and yet when we come to reflect upon the circumstances of the case, we find that it could not have been; that we have never been at that place, nor heard that thing or sound, or those words before. We cannot tell how it is, but we find ourselves trying to understand this strange impression, and yet withal, the image will not cease to have its faintness, and as we seek to grasp it, phantom-like it sadly fades away and vanishes. This evidently is that feeling to which these writers refer, as indicative of a previous state of existence. And thus, in these two views, of a pre-existence, and of a transmigration of the soul, is clearly contained, the doctrine of its immortality. And it was indeed from these premises that Pythagoras (the first of the philosophers to introduce into Greek Philosophy, the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul)—it was from these premises that he argued for the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. The religions of the East, Brahminism and Buddhism, both teach the doctrine of transmigration of souls, in the way of penance and purification; and therefore, by implication, teach a final restoration. The Egyptians, adopting this doctrine from the Hindoos, taught, “that the soul had to continue three thousand years after death, in the bodies of animals, before it could reach the habitations of the blessed.” From the Egyptians, the Greeks received the doctrine; Pythagoras, as we have said, adopted it, in his philosophical system. Plato teaches the same doctrine, being taught it by Pythagoras; “he extends the period for the entire return of souls into the Godhead to ten thousand years, during which time they have to abide in the bodies of animals, and of men.” The Neo-

Platonists adopt the doctrine, and at Alexandria it is enunciated by Plotinus, their chief. Origen, contemporaneous with Plotinus, and a fellow-disciple with him of Ammonius Saccas, the reputed founder of the Neo-Platonic system, necessarily was imbued with this doctrine. Becoming a Christian, in and with him it passed over from the heathen philosophies, and became an article in Christian theology. Here, then, we are at the point where the doctrine of a final restoration, so far as it is Christian, begins; having passed over from heathenism and effected a lodgment in the Christian consciousness. It begun in, and with, Origen, who, before he became a Christian, was a Neo-Platonist. On being converted, he carried his philosophical views in Christianity with him; and thus in his writings, we find the first intimations in Christian literature of the doctrine of a final restoration. It is essentially connected with the heathen doctrine of a transmigration of souls, and is therefore originally a heathen, and not a Christian dogma. It must be confessed, however, that it does appear to find a point of junction with the Christian system, in certain expressions which occur in the Epistles of St. Paul, as in 1 Corinthians xv. 24, 28, and Ephesians i. 10, which passages no doubt enabled Origen to bring in his former system, and to justify it, as being Scriptural. These passages, together with 1 Peter iii. 19, 20, which was held to teach a descent of Christ to Hades, which implied, as they thought, a purgatorial state;—these passages taken together, form a basis, upon which, as Scriptural, they undertook to rest the doctrine of a future state of purification and of a final restoration. Origen and Clement, the two great Church Fathers of Alexandria, the founders of modern Theology, writes Neander, “both taught explicitly a progressive development and course of purification after death, supposing that they found an allusion to this in the descent of Christ to Hades.” Thus Clement teaches that

“the beneficent power of our Saviour is not confined barely to the present life, but operates at all times and everywhere.” And then going further and completing their system, these Alexandrians conclude “that the ultimate end of the whole scheme of salvation is a universal Redemption, consisting in the annihilation of all moral evil, and in an universal restoration to that original unity of the divine life out of which all had proceeded (the general ἀποκατάστασις).” Here, then, we are at the source of Universalism, as existing within the pale of Christianity. It comes over from heathenism as the doctrine of transmigration of souls; it enters the Church at Alexandria in the third century, introduced by Origen and Clement, who, as Neo-Platonists, had imbibed the doctrine; and they manage to introduce it and to obtain Scriptural sanction for it from certain expressions in St. Paul’s Epistles; from the descent of Christ into Hades, and, perhaps, from certain other vague expressions, as when Christ says that a certain sin — blasphemy against the Holy Ghost — “will not be forgiven neither in this life, nor in the next.” Matt. xii. 31, 32. A text which the Romanists use in proof of their doctrine of purgatory. Here, then, moreover, we are at the source of the Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory. The doctrine of a purgatorial fire is evidently a partial appropriation of that of Metempsychosis, which entered the Christian consciousness in the instance of the Alexandrian school of Theology, and passed from thence, subsequently, into the consciousness of Western Christendom. It adopts the principle of the Origenistic theology without logically carrying it out to its finality. It restricts the purifying process in another world, or after death, to a certain class, — to the baptized; or still closer, to those who, after baptism, have not fallen into any mortal sin. Practically it amounted to this: that every one baptized, with the exception of perhaps a few saints, in order



to being purified from the dross of still adhering sinfulness, that being holy they might see God ; to this end all must needs pass through the purifying fires of purgatory. Purgatory is then a discipline, whereby God prepares souls imperfectly sanctified, after death, for the holiness necessary for heaven. This doctrine, from its uncertain nature, is liable to be much expanded ; and thus it happened, until finally it was thought that any one, no matter how wicked his life had been, if he but died within the pale of the orthodox Church, a baptized member, that having passed through purgatorial fires, he might finally reach heaven. Here, then, came in the custom of offering prayers and Masses for the dead ; and finally the practice of granting indulgences, by means of which a punishment due in purgatory was held to be more or less remitted. To be logical, this doctrine ought to be extended, so as to cover the whole race ; and moreover, in its finality, it must maintain the fact of a final and universal restoration. And this is but what Universalism does ; it falls back upon the Alexandrian position, regarding the doctrine of purgatory, or a future purifying discipline, as applicable to the whole race, and making it finally to result in an universal restoration.

The doctrine of purgatory is then but another version of the old heathen doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which is the source from which Universalism also issues. Universalism is not, then, a new form of belief ; it is but the revival of the eschatology of an Origen, and of a Clement of Alexandria. Universalism, as it now presents itself, boldly maintains two positions. It rejects the belief in eternal punishment, and believes in a final universal restoration ; in an ἀποκατάστασις πάντων, when all moral evil shall be entirely banished from the universe, the whole intelligent creation being restored to the unity of a life in God. The foundation of this system lies in two propositions : first, that

God is all-benevolent; in the words of Scripture, that "He is love," that "He will have *all* men to be saved and to come unto the knowledge of the truth," that He is "not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance:" secondly, that He is all-powerful, and autocratic; "that He will have mercy on whom He will have mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth;" that like the potter, He hath power over the clay "of human nature, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honor and another to dishonor." Under this system it is held, that inasmuch as God is all goodness, benevolence, and love; since, moreover, it is expressly said that "He willeth not the death of a sinner, but that he should repent and live," that "He would have all men to be saved;"—since such is God's attitude and desire and will in relation to man's salvation, and since, on the other hand, He can mould human nature according to His will; since He would have all men to be saved, and since He *can* save them, it follows as inevitable, that all men will finally be saved. Since, however, it is evident that all men are not brought to repentance and salvation in this life, it must be that they will be brought to it hereafter, in another sphere of existence. For, according to this view, it is impossible to believe that God should fail to accomplish what He would have done. Faith in the goodness of God makes us disinclined to believe in the eternal punishment of the sinner; makes us inclined to look upon punishment rather in the light of a corrective discipline than as retribution; makes us inclined to regard the future state of the wicked as a discipline, through which God is still leading them to repentance, and so on to a final restoration. But all this while, be it noted, we are taking it for granted, that there is the possibility of bringing about such a result. We have concluded, that by some means or other, every man *can* be brought to repentance. Now, if this is to

be effected, it must be either by means of God's invincible potency being brought to bear directly upon the free will of man, or it must be by man's freely yielding himself to the overtures of mercy. It is supposed, then, either that God, at some future time, in the other world, will, by means of His omnipotence, reduce into subjection the refractory will of His creatures; or else, that man will at some time voluntarily yield himself, through repentance and faith, to be a servant to God. Some change in the sinner must certainly take place. It can be brought about only in one of these two ways. Universalism, to be at all practicable, requires the first; it requires that God should, at some time, make the evil good, which, as shall be seen, involves a contradiction; for that is unmaking, annihilating the creature. To make a bad man a good man by force, that is, through the instrumentality of divine power, is to unmake him; is to make, in reality, another and a different man. It can not be that the bad man is to repent, of himself, at some future time in eternity, for we all know that the longer it is postponed the harder it is to repent; and if a man does not repent in this life, it is not any more likely that he will hereafter. The longer evil lasts, the more confirmed it becomes, the more intense it is, and the more hardened the sinner. Universalism, in requiring the future repentance of the sinner, evidently then demands an interference of the divine potency, which must act immediately upon the will of the free agent in order to bring about the desired result. It contradicts, then, the fact of free will, and the creature's free agency.

Universalism is the natural result of Calvinism: adopting the grand Monoistic principle of Calvinism, that God can do all things in all, even within the sphere of free agency, it argues that, since "He would have all men to be saved," He will certainly save all; for if He did not, it

must be because He cannot;—but He can; for who can resist His will? hath not the potter power over the clay? Since, therefore, He would, and at the same time He can, then certainly He will finally save all men, and thus accomplish His will.

The grand central principle of Calvinism is the Monoistic—that God is the only, the central power of the universe in spirit and in matter. It considers God as working in and through all things. All creation is then but the manifestation of the will of God; the whole universe is but God under so many different conditions and manifestations. Thus in nature, according to this principle, when the wind blows, we may justly say God blows; for what is the wind but God acting, emanating force under the category of what we call wind. It is God flashing in the lightning, and sounding in the thunder. Now, so far as concerns nature, this to a certain extent, in a certain sense, is all true. Nature is but the manifestation of the living God, and so far Monoism is legitimate; and although it may appear to be Pantheism, still it is true. But can this Monoistic principle be carried legitimately into the realm of free agency? This Calvinism and Universalism undertake to do; thus in the sphere of free will, under such a system, when I will, it is God willing,—God willing or thinking or feeling under the category of humanity; thus, though I am conscious of personality, it is but a delusion—I am but God, who is manifesting himself as man, under the category of humanity. This is what? Evidently Pantheism; but it is also the logical result of the Monoistic principle, when applied within the realm of free agency. Man, then, ceases to be an individual existence, a person responsible to God. If this be so, if man's will be to God's as wind or the rain is, and if God be all-benevolent, and is, as the Scriptures say, willing, nay, more, desirous, "He will have all men to be saved," then why should not all

men be eventually saved? There is no avoiding this difficulty. If this be so, if God have this ability to convert all men, then Universalism is evidently true; man, the whole human race, must and will, in the end, be restored to virtue and happiness. Universalism depends, then, for its truth, upon the central principle of Calvinism, a principle which denies free will, contradicts consciousness, and ends in Pantheism: this principle we designate Monoism.

Calvinism adopts as its fundamental formula this doctrine, that God creates all things for Himself, for His own glory. This it regards as an axiomatic proposition. What then does this mean? for there are several ways of understanding it; and Calvinism and Universalism do in fact interpret it differently. There are two ways, then, in which this formula may be interpreted: first, that God creates in order to have an object, or objects, through and upon which to exercise his various attributes and potencies; and secondly, that he creates, at least all animate nature, to the end that in participating in conscious life it may enjoy happiness—that He creates in order to extend the circle of life and of happiness. In Himself he is life and happiness, infinitely and absolutely so. In His goodness, He would have others to participate in this His beatitude; so He creates, in order that there may be others, His creatures, to enjoy it. It is His happiness to confer happiness; and His highest happiness, in this direction, consists in the contemplation of the happiness of His creatures. This, then, is the end of His creation; and when we say God creates for Himself, to His own glory, we mean that He creates in order that, through the happiness of His creatures, He may be happy. To confer happiness is certainly the highest end we can conceive of; and to be so good as to create to this end, is comprehensible to us, as indicating an exceedingly noble disposition. God, then, according to this view, creates in order

to make happy; and His highest blessedness, His most transcendent glory, in relation to the created universe, consists in the beatific contemplation of the happiness of the creatures He has made. It is then to the glory of God that the creation be universally happy; this is the only way in which His glory in this connection can be realized. The contemplation of the misery of His creatures must necessarily interfere with the quietude of His blessedness; and if it be to His glory that all His creatures should be happy, under such conditions His glory would be marred; and since this cannot be the case, since according to the Monoism of Calvinism the will of God must in all cases be realized; since, therefore, it is impossible to suppose that God should thus mar His own glory and allow anything to interfere with His blessedness, it must be that finally this obstacle will be removed. It must be that mankind will all finally be restored to virtue and happiness; and since evidently this does not happen in this life, it will in another; and so, on the same principles, extending the horizon, moral evil will finally be banished from the universe, and all will be happiness and virtue. Such is the position which Universalism occupies. Starting from a proposition which it regards as axiomatic, that God's highest blessedness, so far as concerns creation, consists in the contemplation of the happiness of the creature, a happiness He himself has made possible and has actually conferred, and then adopting the Calvinistic principle of Monoism, that He can in the case of free agents bring about such a state of things, it naturally concludes that He will effect it — such a final, happy consummation being but a matter of time, the process of conversion being continued in another world, when it has failed in this.

The second, or Calvinistic view, of what is the glory of God, is liable to two constructions. First, it may be held

that God creates for His own pleasure; that creation is, as it were, a pleasurable exercise of the powers residing in Him. Thus, just as with the man of muscular constitution, it is a pleasure to take exercise, or with the thinker to develop his thought, or with the artist to throw his inspiration upon canvas, or in marble, or into the tones of music or poetry, so with God it is a pleasure to create and throw into the sphere of real existence the thoughts, feelings, and potencies of which He himself is the centre. Thus, it can be regarded as natural, for God to create, as it is for man to do anything that his powers stimulate him to. To exercise and realize one's innate powers, is always a source of happiness; and when the production, the result, of such exercise is satisfactory, when it comes up to the demands of the impulse within, when the inspiration feels itself completely expressed, when the spirit feels itself thoroughly manifested,—in the satisfaction that then ensues and which such a result brings with it, there is always a beatitude, the happiness of a realized impulse, of fruition. It is this feeling that is expressed, when, in the account of the world's creation, after each separate stage in the process, it is said, "And God saw that it was good;" and then, finally, when the whole work was completed, and had proved a success, the satisfaction which then naturally results to the Creator is thus expressed,—"And God saw everything that He had made, and behold it was very good." "And He rested on the seventh day from all the work which He had made, and He blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because that in it He had rested from all His work which God created and made." The architect who has completed the task of rearing some grand structure; when the end comes; when the scaffolding falls, and at last the noble structure stands out complete and grand in its outlines; when the architect, with beating heart, gazes at last upon the realization of his

cherished idea, then he too, God-like, experiences the beatitude of a creator, and can feel the meaning of the "it was good," and what it is to rest after creation's work. So with the sculptor and the painter, the musician, the writer, and all who know what it is to work and to create. Let the creation but satisfy the demands of the creator's inspiration, and inevitably this satisfaction will ensue. The work must, however, be a success, otherwise it is a source of pain rather than of pleasure. There is no human happiness so perfect and so intense as that ensuing upon the satisfactory completion of some grand undertaking. The nobler the undertaking, the higher the order of the pleasure. The husbandman has pleasure in watching the success of his toil, in finally gathering in an abundant harvest, the work of his own hands. The writer who has completed his work, and feels that he has expressed himself just as he desired, and that he has successfully completed his work; as he writes the last word, and then throws down his pen, his work done, he too feels the beatitude of the creator, and can rest, blessing the day which marks his work as being successfully done. Every man, in his own department, has this means of happiness at his command. It pervades every department of existence, and no doubt the ant, and the bee, and all the provident of God's creatures, when they have completed laying up their stores for the winter, experience this pleasurable sensation to some extent. It is a law of creation, it is the blessing of labor; to get it we must work, and the harder the work, the more arduous the undertaking, the more intense and enduring the happiness of success. Evidently, the same law or principle applies to God, otherwise it would not have been written of Him, that when He beheld His creation, "He saw that it was good;" nor, furthermore, that at the end of creation, on the seventh day, "He rested." Every worker is authorized to enjoy



his seventh day : he should not return to labor at once, but adopt the law of the universe, the example of God himself; let him rest, and enjoy for the time the happiness of his success. None but laborers can experience this pleasure, and none but such are in reality God-like.

We can then, in the first place, consider God as essentially a worker ; and, as such, He is naturally a creator, creating not because of this pleasure ; this comes with it, but is not the end. Just so with us ; it is not the pleasure of success that we work for — that comes with it, and is its blessing ; we work naturally, every man according to his gifts, that is, if we are true to ourselves, and not worthless sluggards. It is as natural to work as to breathe, or to use the muscles ; it is essential to our nature ; in fact, to live is to work ; it is but the expression and manifestation, the realization of life, the living powers. And in God it is essential to Him to work : “ My Father worketh hitherto, and I work,” says Christ. With work follows happiness ; and the more difficult the undertaking, then the higher and more intense the happiness. To create a free agent ; to reproduce Himself, and yet what is not Himself, being finite ; to make man, a being made in the image and likeness of God, is, as a work, the highest that can be imagined. Thus God seems to have derived peculiar pleasure in contemplating man, the last and highest work of His hands. And doubtless the whole inanimate creation failed to yield so much satisfaction to the Divine Being as did Adam and Eve, as they, in all the glory of unfallen humanity, happily walked in the garden of Eden.

In the creation of a race of free agents, God had planned for Himself a much more arduous work for the future than any which had preceded it. To create a free agent, one capable of resisting the Divine will and potency, is, as a work, far easier than to control such a being after he is

created. Indeed, a free agent, a creature endowed with free will, in the image and likeness of God — in this respect a God himself, — such a creature is, from the very nature of the case, independent and uncontrollable. He can, if he pleases, resist the Creator, reject His influences when applied to him within or from without. To direct and control such a creature, we say, must be a work much more difficult than the creation of such a being. Indeed, to us, it would appear to be a natural impossibility. And yet God must have laid out this work for Himself; and it is very evident that ever since man's creation He has been engaged in carrying out some plan relating to this matter. The whole system of Redemption, in its conception and in its history, bears witness to this. But what is the work that God has thus mapped out for Himself? What is it that He now is trying to do? if we may so express it. Is He trying to do what Universalism believes, to bring about an universal restoration? Or is He, as Calvinism would have it, not trying to do this, but only effectually to save some few whom He has elected and predestinated to salvation? Is He only engaged in saving some, or is He trying to save all? Or is He, while occupied in saving only some, engaged, on the other hand, as Supralapsarianism would have it, in fitting those whom He has created as objects upon which to exercise His wrath, for destruction?

Universalism and Supralapsarian Calvinism both carry the Monoistic principle entirely through; both hold that God does in the end accomplish all that He would. Calvinism holds that He wills, on the one hand, the salvation only of the elect; while, on the other, He wills the damnation of the reprobate, who are — according to Supralapsarianism, — the only consistent Calvinism — created for this purpose. Thus, evidently, God's entire will and purpose are accomplished, and His autocracy is vindicated. Some

He creates to be the objects upon which to exercise His wrath, others upon whom He is to exercise His goodness and mercy. There are originally vessels, some of wrath; and vessels, others made to honor. According to this view, the satisfaction which followed the creation ought to have been delayed until Adam fell; then, it would appear, would have been the proper time to have written it down that "God saw everything that He had made, and behold it was good." For it was not until then that the material upon which God was to exercise His wrath was created. Supralapsarian Calvinism holds that God has created everything for His own glory, which means, as has been shown, that God, in order to exercise Himself, and to have objects upon which He can exercise all the properties of His nature, by means of which, moreover, He can manifest and display these, His tremendous potencies to others beside Himself,—has created the universe. Up to the sphere of conscious intelligence, God may be considered as creating only for the pleasure of it; for that pleasure which results from the successful exercise of indwelling creative potencies. In creating conscious intelligences, He has made those who can be the intelligent witnesses of His majesty. But in order to the exhibition of all the properties residing in the Divine Being, the appropriate objects must be prepared, objects which afford a sphere for the exercise of such divine properties. Thus, in the mass of unfallen angels, as an appropriate object, He manifests His holiness, affirmatively, in them, and, negatively, to them in the exercise of His wrath upon the fallen mass of angelic existence. The fallen angels, in the upper, correspond to the reprobate in this lower sphere. In this lower sphere, God manifests especially two of His attributes, namely, His mercy and His wrath. In electing some of a fallen race and bringing them to repentance, faith, and final salvation, He exercises

and manifests His mercy ; in leaving others in their fallen condition, to continue in sin, He has prepared for Himself the material upon which He can exercise and manifest His wrath. And this is considered to be the end of man's creation, that God might thus exercise and manifest His mercy and His wrath to the intelligent creation.

God, then, according to this system, creates man ; purposely He makes him a peccable creature, to the end that he may fall—Sublapsarianism says, permits him to fall ; but this is illogical, it departs from the principle of Monoism. Supralapsarianism, more logical, holds, not permits, but causes man to fall ; and that, in order to have the material upon which to manifest His mercy and His wrath. It is the glory of God, by this system, to manifest to an astonished and terrified intelligent universe, His tremendous attributes ; to manifest certain of these—His mercy and His wrath—He prepares the material in the fallen mass of humanity. Here is the medium through which this manifestation is to be made. One form, the milder one of Calvinism, would escape the difficulty of this position by adhering to the doctrine of a permitted fall. But inasmuch as in all other respects it holds fast to the principle of Monoism, and also to this definition of the glory of God ; logically enunciated, it must finally result in the same conclusion.

Under Calvinism, starting with its definition of the glory of God, which is the end of creation ; this end is realized. The Monoistic principle is therefore satisfied ; God finally accomplishes His final purpose, that work which He has allotted to Himself. In the salvation of the elect He fully manifests the riches of His grace, in the damnation of the reprobate, He as fully exhibits the terrors of His wrath ; thus, then, He is glorified, and in the final success of His work, in the love that He will attract, and in the terror that

He will strike, He will be glorified of the universe, and therefore satisfied in Himself. According to this view, what God desires is the admiration, the praise, homage and fear of His creatures, and the whole system of the universe is planned to this end. Thus, it would appear that above all things, God desires the praise of men and angels; the praise of terror He will get from the damned; of love and gratitude and fear from the Redeemed. Thus, according to this system, it is, that God, is and will be, glorified.

Universalism starts with an entirely different definition of what is the end of creation. According to it, God is glorified not in exhibiting His attributes, but in the imparting of Himself, of His blessedness to His creatures, in making His whole intelligent creation virtuous and happy. The extension of the realm of conscious life and happiness is what led a good God to the creation of intelligent free agents. The contemplation of such creatures in their enjoyment of such happiness is a source of the most profound beatitude to and in the Godhead. To bring about such a state of universal virtue and happiness is considered to be the end of creation, and then, by applying the Monoistic principle, such a result is finally effected. All the intervals between the beginning and the end are but stages in a process of evolution, whereby in the end the benevolent purpose of God will be consummated. Evil is but a foil for the good, a stage, a transition and necessary stage in this evolution. The end will finally come when evil will be obliterated and God will be the All-in-all. Calvinism makes creation a means to an end, that end being the manifestation of the properties of God. Whether it is this manifestation in itself, the contemplation of Himself; or whether it is the observation of such a manifestation by His intelligent creatures, and the admiration of it, that is a source of satisfaction to the Divine Being, and therefore His object in

creation, is not clearly enunciated in this system. Universalism makes creation an end. It is God's object, in it, to bestow life and happiness; and God delights in contemplating the life and happiness of His creatures. Neither system experiences any difficulty as to discrepancies between the Divine intention and its result; in both cases God's desire and intention is realized. Under Calvinism, He does succeed in manifesting both His mercy and His wrath; according to Universalism, He will finally succeed in restoring all His creatures to life and happiness. In both cases, according to both definitions of the glory of God, granting that God creates all things to His own glory, in both cases, the end of creation is finally realized; and that this happens is entirely owing to the Monoistic principle, which both systems adopt and use, in order to secure the end proposed in their respective systems.

Universalism holds that God will gradually bring about the repentance of the whole human race, so that in the end there will be a restoration of all to virtue and happiness. This, as we have said, takes for granted two things: first, that such is God's desire; and secondly, that it is practicable; that God can bring about such a result. As to the first point, the argument arising from the fact of the Divine goodness and benevolence, as stated above, under the formula that God creates all things for His own glory; interpreting this formula according to the universal system,—this argument, naturally leads to such a conclusion: a good God who delights in the contemplation of the happiness of His creatures, and who made them in order to be happy, evidently such a God would, if He could, bring about the final restoration of a fallen race. Thus, it is said expressly of Him, that "He will have all men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth," that "He has no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from His way and live."

There can be no question then as to God's wishes or desire in this matter ; it is quite evident that He would, if it were possible, bring all men in this life to repentance, and so to happiness. Universalism is evidently right in imputing such a desire, or wish as we term it, to the Creator. No doubt God has "good-will" towards men ; the whole system of His dealing with the race, to the end of their redemption, proves as much. Christ the Son of God, is also the Son of man, the offspring of the race, its universal Saviour ; He is expressly called, "the Saviour of the world ;" and "He gave His life a ransom for all." But ; and here lies the difficulty, can this good-will be realized ? Can all men be brought to repentance ? Can the Saviour save all, whom He came to save ? Evidently not ; as He himself expressly says, "Ye will not come unto me that ye may have life." God may be willing ; nay, more, be desirous and wish to save the whole race ; but is it practicable ? Can even He the Omnipotent one, do it ? Universalism answers, Yes ; Calvinism imputes a different desire and intention to Him ; that He is desirous of saving only a portion of mankind ; but as to His ability to carry out the design, unhesitatingly, like Universalism, answers Yes. Both adopt the Monoistic principle, that God in the sphere of free agency, just as in that matter, is able, inevitably, to effect His desire, or will ; is able to do what He would have done. If, then, He will have "all men to be saved," Universalism concludes, inevitably, all men will be saved ; for who can resist His will, and so, too, Calvinism, only in this case, the salvation is restricted to some only — the elect.

Now, if it be God's highest glory to have His intelligent universe virtuous and happy ; if this be the end which will conduce most to the glory of God,—and certainly it must be. If this end be not effected, then either it must be because it is impossible, or else we are mistaken in supposing that such an

end, is to God's highest glory. But this is the only possible rational meaning we can assign to what is termed the glory of God; therefore, if in opposition to Universalism, it is not effected, it must be, because it is an impossibility. Universalism adopting the Calvinistic Monoistic principle declares, that such an end is possible, and concludes justly from its premises that it is effected. In opposition to such a conclusion, which we believe to be in antagonism with the teaching of the Scriptures, we hold that such an end as the final restoration of the whole moral universe, to virtue and happiness, is not realized; and that it is not because it cannot be; because it is an impossibility; and it is an impossibility because man is a free agent, a creature endowed with the godlike attribute of will, a free will which can set itself up in opposition to God, and resist even Him, and that successfully so far as concerns *its* control. God can control the person, the individual; He cannot control His will; He can hold him in subjection to His power; but He cannot bring the will to voluntary subjection under Him. Man cannot escape the power of God as providential; but so far as concerns any good to be done him personally in spirit, that he, man, can prevent. Man can resist God, can struggle against His power, applied as a restraining force; can resist and quench the spirit tending gently to lead him, from within. God made man "in His own image," and "after His own likeness, in the image of God created He him." And then to intimate to him, that upon this mundane sphere he was lord, a god upon earth, responsible only to Him, God set man up, as lord over this earth, directing him to subdue it, and to have dominion over it, and over every living thing that moved upon it. Man's position is a heavily responsible one; he stands at the head of this world, the whole being entrusted to him as a steward, and some day he will have to give an account of his steward-



ship. The great danger which besets a creature placed in such an independent and responsible position is, that he will become puffed up with pride, that he will think himself self-sufficient, and will not feel his responsibility to God. Unfallen man need not experience, as we must now, the sense of weakness, and of dependence upon God for strength. The powers with which human nature was originally endowed were sufficient, and man could of, and in himself, continue in the state of virtue and happiness. To become established in such a state, he had, as must inevitably be the case with every creature, free agent, in order to be confirmed in virtue,—to pass through the ordeal of temptation. Every created free agent must, we say, necessarily pass through such an ordeal, and must become perfect through experience. Thus it was with Christ, the second Adam. His temptation in the wilderness is an exact representation of what every free agent must undergo, before he can be confirmed or made perfect in virtue. In the rest of the life of Christ there was, of course, much more than would fall to the lot of a creature in the unfallen state, for Christ's situation was in the midst of a fallen race, and his human nature, certainly his body, was not that of an unfallen being, but no doubt was weak by reason of the stock from which it sprung.

In the unfallen state, then, obedience, reverence and love was what it became man, to offer to God his Maker. He could depend upon Himself for the ability to perform all his duties. Pride, and a consequent insubordination was the greatest danger that beset him; and this is exactly what brought about his ruin. Feeling himself so self-sufficient, he dared to doubt, disbelieve, and disobey God; thus he fell. Now, in our present condition, we have very different necessities; we are in need of everything; we have the formidable law of sin reigning within our members, bring-

ing us in subjection to the law of sin and death; and at the same time we are subject to the same sin that caused the fall of Adam, and are almost universally inclined to think that we are self-sufficient. Thus, while we may be conscious of our unhappy condition, we at the same time imagine, that we can save ourselves. Still, we proudly assert our independence; have all faith in ourselves; none in God; thus invariably, when any one sets to work, earnestly to attain to virtue, invariably, in the first place, he attempts to save himself. Here, then, we have arrived at the great obstacle which prevents the salvation of the world. True, God "will have all men to be saved;" He has done, and is still doing, all that can be done in order to secure such an end; but it cannot be because man *will* not. From one reason or another, either because men love darkness rather than light, or because even when they would attain to virtue, they will depend only upon themselves; from various causes, it happens, that men will not let God save them. As we are now situated, faith in God, is the only possible means of salvation; we are, of ourselves, without strength; therefore "without faith," now, "it is impossible to please God." And yet, men, with all that God has done for them, will not learn this; but either hold to other sins because they love them, or else strive to save themselves because they are self-sufficient. It is in sight of this state of things, that Christ, almost despairingly cries out, "Ye will not come unto me that ye might have life;" and again, "If ye believe not that I am He, ye shall die in your sins."

There can be no doubt, but that God would do much more for man than he does, if man would only permit it. It is man's rejection of His offers, both from without and from within, that prevents his own salvation and that seals his doom. Thus, Christ, when He bewails the fate of Jerusalem, attributes it all to the obstinate, brutal, perversity of its

people. Indignantly, bitterly and sadly, He arraigns the ferocious fatuity of His countrymen. "Wherefore behold, I send unto you prophets and wise men and scribes, and some of them ye shall kill and crucify, and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily, I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not. Behold, your house is left unto you desolate." Indignant at the fatuity of His countrymen, in thus perversely bringing down upon themselves so fearful a doom, Jesus at the same time inveighs and weeps. Evidently, if He could, He would have prevented this fatal future; but looking backwards and forwards, He sees that the case is hopeless; He would; but they will not. The same perversity which was in the past will be in the future; the doom is therefore inevitable. Here, then, is a case where God would do what apparently He cannot; He would, but He cannot prevent this people from bringing upon themselves a doom which they will perversely persist in doing.

It is acknowledged on all sides, that to be restored to happiness, man must be delivered from sin. He cannot deliver himself; generally, he does not desire to be so delivered at all. He loves the pleasure of sin, and neither tries to deliver himself, nor desires any one else to deliver him. In such case, of course, the first thing to be done, is to awaken such a desire; and then supposing it to exist, still man cannot deliver himself; hence the necessity of faith in

God, who offers Himself to man as a Saviour, and leads every one that will, to His Son, for salvation. Thenceforth, all that is required is, faith in, trust, and obedience, to Christ. Christ restores man to virtue, and thus to happiness. For, "if the Son shall make you free, then are ye free indeed."

God cannot restore the fallen free agent to virtue and happiness, without the exercise, by the free agent, of faith in Him. If he refuse to do this, either because he loves sin, or because he regards himself as self-sufficient, then his salvation is an impossibility; he must die in his sins. "If ye believe not that I am He, ye shall die in your sins," He says. The state of unbelief is the only hopeless one for fallen humanity. Without faith in God, human salvation is an impossibility. For how can God help one who will not let Him. It is the rejection of the offers of a Saviour God, that is the damning sin of any Christian community. "How can we escape," argues St. Paul, "if we neglect so great salvation." To neglect it is bad enough; to reject it, the sin which cannot be forgiven. But aside from all of this; without accepting the offers of God; without faith in God, salvation is an impossibility.

Now, if we adopt the Monoistic principle that God can work faith in whomsoever He pleases, then inasmuch as "He will have all men to be saved," since He "is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance," — since such is God's attitude, in relation to man's salvation, there is no reason why all should not be saved; for if He will and can, nothing remains but that He shall thus realize His good-will towards man. The only way of escaping such a conclusion, is by denying one or the other of these premises. Calvinism denies the first, restricting God's good-will, and limiting it, to only a portion of the race, the elect; as it is written: "Jacob have I loved; but Esau have I hated." We, on the contrary, affirm the major

premises, but deny the minor. We deny the proposition that God can work repentance and faith in the heart of any and of every one; and that therefore, He can, or could, if He only would, save all. Calvinism affirms this: God, it holds, could, if He would, save all; but He would not: He would save only some, which He does. And then the other side of the question as Supralapsarianism proceeds to state it; He could, if He would, damn all; but He would damn only some, which He does. And this completes the system. God accomplishes His will on the one hand, in the salvation of the elect; on the other, in the damnation of the reprobate. Universalism on the opposite side, holds, that God could, if He would, damn all; but He would not damn any, so He saves all.

According to our statement of the doctrine, God would, if He could, save all; but He cannot; therefore, He saves all He can. On the other hand, God could, if He would, damn all; but He would not "that any should perish;" therefore, He damns only those that He is obliged to; as few as He possibly can; He saves as many as He can; He damns as few as He can.

The reason why all men are not brought to repentance and faith, is, because they cannot be, and they cannot be, simply because they will not; their salvation is therefore an utter impossibility. God saves all that He can, and those who will not repent and believe are then relegated back upon their legal status, as creatures of free-will, subject to God's moral law, and are judged and punished according to their deeds. Absolute justice here is the rule of judgment, and every man will receive in exact accordance with the deeds done in the body. "To them who by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory and honor and immortality, eternal life." "But unto them that are contentious and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation

and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile." Thus, those who cannot, or who will not be saved, are finally to be dealt with, according to the principles of absolute justice. God, on His part would save all men; but all cannot or will not be saved; these He deals with in accordance with the principles of justice, rendering to every man, according to his dues; and the rest, those who can be saved because they accept the salvation of God, because by faith they depend upon Him; those who will come to him;—these He saves, restoring them to virtue and happiness.

Universalism is obliged to grant that all men are not brought to repentance in this life; but it insists upon extending the time of probation, and holds that repentance can and will be brought about, hereafter, at least at some future time, in the long eternity that is before us. Holding that God can bring all to repentance, it asserts that finally He will; He will never give over, until such an universal restoration is secured. But in such a system, one all-important element in the Divine economy of the universe is entirely lost sight of; thus, while it is written, "He is not willing that any should perish; but that all should come to repentance;" at the same time it is written, and as the preface to this benevolent statement, that "the Lord is long-suffering to usward." That is to say, that just as long as it is possible, in mercy, He delays the day of reckoning, thus giving all men an opportunity for repentance; so that every one who is desirous of salvation may attain it. He would shut no one out; He invites all to enter in, and He gives the longest possible time; but the very fact of this being an act of long-suffering, proves that finally it must come to an end. The day of judgment, in mercy is long delayed; but after all, it is but a delay, and finally, must come. Thus, in opposition to the view of Universalism, that there is no

period too late for repentance; it is very evident that there is. That there is a day coming when every man will have to give an account of himself to God. And very justly so, for we cannot suppose that the crimes which stain this world of ours, and the wickedness which already cries to high heaven for vengeance, are to go on indefinitely, and that men are never to be called to an account. If men are not brought to repentance in this life, there is no more reason why they will be in the life to come; and if they do not repent, but continue to exist, every day will find them only worse and worse, and thus the other world will be even more terrible than this. The very same reasons which kept men from repenting here, will prevent them from repenting there.

God, in this life, brings all whom He can to repentance, and to faith in Him; the reason why all cannot be thus converted is, because they will not, or because from other reasons, it has become an impossibility. The first is a positive reason, the second is a conclusive, but negative; it is a state. The first is the position once occupied by the Jews, when salvation was of them, before Christ came; and again when He preached the gospel in their midst. John the Baptist, the harbinger, had preceded Christ, calling upon the people to repent, because the kingdom of heaven was at hand. Here was repentance preached, but what came of it? Some few heard him and obeyed; but the rest were hardened, and finally they killed him because he dared reprove wickedness in high places. John the Baptist "came neither eating, nor drinking, and they said he hath a devil." "The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, behold a man, gluttonous and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners." Thus it is, that a perverse heart treats both the call to repentance and to faith in the gospel. Such perverse ones reject the merciful counsel of God with respect to themselves; condemn His overtures, despise his messengers,

resist and quench His spirit. This is the positive side of the question. God cannot save such, because they will not be saved; the call is extended to them; but they stop their ears, and harden their hearts; "they will not come to Him that they might have life." Such was the position once occupied by the Jews, and such is now that occupied by the Christian world, where the call is every day extended, and men are entreated to repent and to believe the gospel. They cannot be saved, because perversely and obstinately, they will not be. And this will finally result in another state, the state in which the Jews are now. The time comes in the individual experience, and with a people, when, having resisted the Spirit and having despised the means of grace, at length they are withdrawn. The end of such a course is, that the heart becomes hardened. Unbelief takes firm possession of the soul, and salvation becomes a moral impossibility. When a man or a people arrives at such a state, God is said to give them up to a reprobate mind. Then the call is hushed; the cry for repentance ceases to be heard in the streets; the gospel invitation is withdrawn, to be offered to others not so hardened. Such a person, or people, is now concluded, within the fatal prison of unbelief, and therefore doomed.

The negative reason why an individual or a people cannot be saved, is, when by a long course of sin and consequent degradation; from the long continued dominion of falsehood and vice, they become so degraded, that they are for the time hopelessly brutalized. Under these circumstances man has sunk into such a condition of darkness and wickedness, that he has almost ceased to be human, and it requires time and continued effort before anything can be done for, and with him. Sometimes it is error, which is the most fatal element in this departure; sometimes it is the power of vice. Some of the heathen nations are more fa-



tally influenced by error, speculative and other, as in the case of the Oriental nations, the Chinese, Japanese, and Hindoos; and others, like the Africans, more deeply sunk in brutishness. In the first case, although there is a corresponding degradation in morals, still these people, so far as concerns intellectual development, have not sunk much, if at all, in the scale of humanity. Their intellectual activity, especially in the direction of speculative metaphysics, is very great. Therefore they are proud and self-sufficient; and like the Greeks of old, despise everything that is not a philosophy. To bring them to repentance and faith, then, speculative errors have to be confuted. With other portions of the race, as in the case of the Africans, not only are they degraded in moral character, but their minds are sadly stunted. The chief obstacle in the conversion of those who are in such a condition, is, the moral degradation and gross ignorance in which they are plunged. Besotted in ignorance, they have to a great extent lost the original powers of the mind; the slaves of vice, it is almost, if not impossible, such as they now are, to bring them to repentance and faith. Perhaps, however, it is not impossible; and if so, then the responsibility of their salvation, and of all other heathens, who have not yet rejected the offers of grace,—this grievous responsibility rests upon us. God is willing, anxious, to have all men to be saved, and to be brought to the knowledge of the truth. He has done all that he can, and is still working wherever there is any possibility of success, to bring men to repentance; in our hands are the means of salvation; their salvation, if they have been prepared for it, depends upon us. God treating us like responsible free agents, has entrusted us with this charge, expressly directing that we should go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. God prepares the way. It is our duty to try all to give every creature in this

creation that opportunity of salvation which the gospel presents. We cannot, of course, but by the result, tell, when the harvest is ready; but we must forever try, do our part, and leave the rest to God. The salvation of the heathen world is then conditioned by the propagation of the gospel; the responsibility of their salvation rests upon us, a statement which, however, needs some modification. God, so far as it is possible, prepares the way; and we must follow this up, and preach the gospel to every creature. It is possible, however, that there may be some prepared to receive the gospel, to whom it is never preached; just as in the case of some of the ancients; men who, though they have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law; men who, by faith, are seeking after righteousness. If there be any such, then, inasmuch as it is God who has done this good work in them, and inasmuch as it is said, that "God is no respecter of persons but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him." Such men falling within this category are judged accordingly, and "having by patient continuance in well-doing sought for glory and honor and immortality," are awarded "eternal life." There is then a present salvation to which through faith in the gospel we attain. The kingdom of God in its full historic development, under which is contained the remission of sin and the indwelling of the Holy Ghost; the tasting of the good word of God and the power of the world to come; it is impossible, we say, for any one to enter into this stage of the kingdom, and to experience its privileges without hearing and believing the gospel. But there are other and preceding stages in the development of this kingdom, so that there are members, of it, in disposition, who have not yet attained to its privileges. Such were the worthies under the Old Testament dispensation, who all died in the faith, not having received the promises, but

having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them and confessed that they were pilgrims and strangers on the earth. Such, doubtless, were some of the righteous among the heathen. All are of the kingdom; all men of faith and poor in spirit; but they lived only in hope, and have not attained that present, that conscious fruition of salvation, which we now who have believed in Christ, experience. Thus, there may, even now, be many among the heathen, whom God has prepared by the operations of His grace and providence, who are prepared joyfully to receive the gospel message, so far as disposition is concerned, members of the kingdom, and yet unable to enter more fully into it without hearing the gospel. Such then, though not now participating in salvation, yet will not, finally, be cast out; these are they who will come from the east and from the west, and will sit down with Abraham in the kingdom, while many in professing Christian lands, nay, even professing Christians will be cast out, for "God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted." Cornelius occupied such a position; he was accepted, doubtless, by faith, just as Abraham was, while he was yet uncircumcised; but Cornelius had not up to the time Peter preached Christ to him, attained to a present conscious salvation, and not until Peter had preached *peace* to him through Jesus Christ and through His name "to whomsoever should believe on Him remission of sins;" not until Cornelius had heard this message and had received it, did he attain to peace with God and receive in his own consciousness the remission of sin. He had passed from the threshold of the kingdom, into its interior, and had now attained to a present salvation. Evidently, those situated like Cornelius, yet who, unlike him, have not heard the gospel in this life, will certainly, upon the day of judgment, when those who by "patient continuance in well-doing seek

for glory and immortality," receive as their gracious award, full admission into the kingdom of Christ, which is "eternal life."

It is evident, then, that, from some reason or other, alike within the pale of Christianity, and with the heathen, either because men will not, or because they are indifferent, love sin, and care not to repent and believe; or, as in heathen countries, because they are devotedly attached to their own systems, and can only, therefore, despise the Christian; or, because they are sunk through vice into a state of brutishness;—from some or from all of these reasons it happens, that there are but few who can be brought to repentance and faith. The salvation of the great mass of the world is an impossibility. This state of things being due to man's constitution as a free agent; a creature of free-will, he has tasted of the forbidden fruit and has now learned to like it, and to choose it rather than the fruit of the tree of life. The free agent has become involved in the element of evil, and while he cleaves to it he partakes of its deadly influence. "The wages of sin is death." God's benevolence is infinite, His good-will towards man is unbounded, "He is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance." He will have all men "to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth," and in proof of this, He "has sent His Son to be the Saviour of the world," and "to give His life a ransom for us all." "But wisdom crieth in vain in our streets, none regard her," as it is written, "Who hath believed our report." "How long ye simple ones cries wisdom, will ye love simplicity? and the scorers delight in their scorning, and fools hate knowledge. Turn ye at my reproof. Behold, I will pour out my spirit upon you, I will make known my words unto you." But who attends? A few only, a remnant hear, and the rest are hardened. Thus, God's benevolent intentions towards man are frus-

trated ; " we will not come to Him that we may have life." And perhaps this is the reason why such a vast portion, a majority, it is said, of the human race die in infancy. God takes them, in order to their salvation ; thus altogether though some few will repent and believe, still the larger portion of the human race become partakers of eternal life. Why all are not thus taken in infancy is evident, for in such case the race would come to an end ; and why one is taken and not another, is, because of some higher law, a necessity of which we cannot now obtain cognizance. Everything that God does must be done with reason ; we cannot suppose the Almighty to act without reason ; why one is saved and another not, is because it could not be otherwise ; that is to say, both would be saved if it were possible ; there is some good reason why one is taken and another is left. We may not and cannot see why it is ; but we cannot but believe that there is good reason for it, and consequently that it is just. We believe that God is good, and that He is just ; we are confident of His all-benevolence ; and when we see it not universally exercised, we know that there must be some good reason why this is so. We believe, moreover, that He is just ; that there is no favoritism with Him ; that He is no respecter of persons ; when, therefore, we see His benevolence withheld from some, we know that it must be with just cause, because there is something in the creature that prevents it, therefore it cannot be otherwise. We cannot believe that God acts perfectly arbitrarily, without having any reason for what He does ; there must be some reason why He does this and not that ; and we must hold fast to this, though we cannot possibly account for His action. If we do not, we may end in doubting both His goodness and His justice.

Since, now, it is evident that there must be various insurmountable reasons why the majority of the race cannot be

brought to faith and repentance in this life, it is plainly impossible to see, even supposing the period of probation prolonged, why it should be otherwise in the next life. The same reasons which hold good here, hold good there; and since evil is a progressive development, there is even less hope there, than here. If, then, men are not brought to repentance and faith here, supposing the day of reckoning to be postponed to the judgment-day, it is evident that nowhere else will they be.

But Universalism does not require repentance and faith to be wrought out previous to the day of judgment. It grants that there is such a day. Human nature cannot but acknowledge the day of judgment to be a moral necessity, for it cannot be that all the wrongs that are perpetrated upon this earth go forever unredressed. If such a faith, or rather infidelity, ever become prevalent, inevitably, man will take vengeance into his own hands, and feel that he is only doing right in redressing his own wrongs. Many heathen nations do this now; and it is true, that if there be no ultimate tribunal, no sovereign vindicator of the right, and avenger of the wrong; if there be no day of judgment and final redress of wrongs, then certainly vengeance is man's, and revenge is, as has been taught in most heathen nations, a solemn duty.

Universalism is weak in this direction; but it (that is the only plausible Universalism) admits a day of judgment, when every man will receive the award of his deeds. It is admitted that upon that day retribution is meted out. Universalism dislikes, however, to use this phrase. It grants that punishment is allotted at the day of judgment; but it is unwilling to look upon it in the light of retribution; is inclined to regard it rather as a corrective discipline; it cannot yet give up the notion that the end in view is, repentance, which is to be wrought in the offender. It grants that

the previous system, the one administered in this world, has proved unsuccessful; but thinks that with a slight change of administration, by increasing the puritive element, that is, by adopting a kind of penitentiary system, that by this means the sinner can be brought to repentance and final salvation. Thus, it abruptly and firmly denies the doctrine of an eternal punishment, and affirms that by means of such a corrective disciplinary economy, the conversion of the sinner will be effected, and thus finally all, even the most reprobate, will be won over, converted, and so saved. And so a final restoration will be effected, moral evil removed, and all mankind restored to virtue, love, and happiness. Is such a penitentiary system adapted to bring about repentance? Punishment in itself has nothing in it calculated to effect true repentance. In itself it has a twofold significance; it means retribution for the offence that is past, and a warning against its repetition in the future. As a preventive against the perpetration of wrong, it acts through the principle of fear. The man who knows that a penalty is annexed to the perpetration of certain acts, is deterred from such action through fear; that is, he knows if he commits such acts he will have to suffer for it, and this fear of suffering, is what restrains him. After he has committed the forbidden act; has been discovered, and has been condemned, and fallen under the penalty of the law, then he enters the penitentiary. Now he is enduring the punishment annexed by the law to the perpetration of a certain act. Is it to be supposed that this punishment can have any effect in softening the man, in changing his heart, so that he will hate what he before loved. If he knows that by becoming penitent he can put an end to his punishment and be restored to liberty, doubtless he will appear to be penitent. If criminals by becoming penitent could escape from the penitentiary, certainly all would appear to

become so. But what as to the reality? Punishment does certainly deter from crime, and can certainly turn out any number of hypocritical penitents; but it has not in it one element tending to soften and to change the heart. On the contrary, it hardens, and therefore sinks the criminal lower and lower in the abyss of hell. It is all a delusion to suppose that by means of punishment man can ever be brought to repentance, faith, and final salvation. When once it falls, a retributive nemesis, upon the offender, his doom is sealed. If he think that by repenting he can escape, doubtless he will and can become—but what?—a hypocrite. If the duration of the punishment is irrespective of his doings; if it is to cease at some definite future time, he will but curse the day upon which he was born, and the God in whose hand he is; but he will not, cannot, repent. Punishment will not improve him, can never convert the sinner, and at the end of it, supposing it to be temporary, though for the future he might be restrained from sin, that is, from certain overt acts, through fear of incurring a repetition of his sufferings, still he will not be, a changed man. On the contrary, he will be only the more hardened in his sins; perhaps he may be more prudent; but certainly, not better. Thus it is true, that no system of punishment, can bring man, truly, to repentance. Since, then, neither the system of grace, in this life, nor that of punishment in the next, can bring about such a result; inasmuch therefore, as the impenitent in this world, will remain such to eternity, since nothing can make them otherwise, — necessarily being eternally impenitent, they must be eternally punished; and since this impenitence is ever becoming more hardened, and the sinner more defiant, the punishment, must be, ever, becoming more severe.

Moreover, since the economy of severity, which is to succeed the present, so far from bringing about true peni-



tence, on the contrary hardens, it follows, that penitence is not its end. Future punishment does not aim at effecting repentance: it is not therefore a system of corrective discipline; it must mean something else. And thus we are forced to fall back, in explaining it, upon the doctrine of retribution. Since, then, in this life, repentance is not effected by the goodness of God, nor in the life to come can be effected by His severity, it follows that it cannot and will not be brought about at all. A final restoration becomes, then, an impossibility; Universalism is a delusion; the future state of all who die impenitent necessarily and inevitably is one of retribution; there is no possible way of escaping this conclusion.

Universalism is loth to admit this; it will not, but persists in denying it, fatuously clinging to its delusion of a final, universal restoration. But such a conclusion is absolutely untenable, being contradicted by the facts of the case. The future state of the impenitent can only be one of retribution, not a state or a dispensation of a reformatory character, in which punishment is to be regarded as simply corrective. The object of such a dispensation is not to bring its subjects to repentance; that is simply an impossibility. It was impossible during this life under its economy, where the goodness of God is ever leading men to repentance; and when such an influence fails, or is in some way frustrated, it is very certain that severity will never succeed. Punishment, as we have shown, only hardens. If known to be temporary, it only embitters and hardens; if known to be conditioned upon repentance, it only begets hypocrisy. Punishment, therefore, cannot effect true penitence; and if this be the case; if the sinner who dies impenitent can never be brought to repentance; inasmuch as he must ever continue an unrepentant sinner, he must continue, ever, under punishment. Eternal punishment

does not mean that for one sin, or that for all the sins perpetrated during this life, that for these, the sinner shall be forever punished. It means rather, that since the impenitent man will ever continue impenitent, since, moreover, he will ever continue to get worse, more hardened, and more defiant, as such, he must ever remain under punishment. If he should ever repent, he would cease to be punished; but when a man will not repent, what remains but that he should be punished? He will not repent of the sins he has done in this life, and this alone would demand an eternal punishment; but besides this being impenitent, there can be no doubt but that in the other world, provided he have the opportunity, he will continue to sin, and so require additional punishment. It is self-evident, admitting the element of punishment, simply on the principle of its being a corrective discipline; it is evident, that until the end desired is gained, which is the repentance of the sinner, that until then, it cannot cease to be inflicted. And if this end, by such a means, can never be gained,—as will appear to any one who will look into the philosophy of such a system as applied to human nature,—then, from this point of view, punishment must continue for ever. Add to this the principle of retribution, that the guilty deserve to be punished, and the case is still stronger; for surely one deserves to be punished so long as he continues unrepentant. Thus the two stand to each other in the relation of co-ordinates: Impenitence, retribution; eternal impenitence and sin, eternal retribution.

Retribution, as a state, is an inevitable fact in the evolution of God's moral universe. Had neither man nor angels fallen, it would not have been; but once admit evil, and at once it becomes a necessity. Though the long-suffering of God long delay it, still it must come; a Nemesis, gloomy and inevitable, it overhangs a doomed creation. It is the

voice of justice, and justice cannot be forever postponed. In our horror at the evil that surrounds us, at the mad blasphemy, foul licentiousness, and wicked injustice that everywhere calls to high heaven for vengeance, we wonder, that the lightnings of God do not descend and blast this sin-reeking world of ours. But God evidently is long-suffering to usward, "not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance." And this is the only explanation for this seeming long delay in the administration of justice, which so strikes us. Retribution, the administration of justice, must, we say, finally come. It is a moral necessity in God's moral universe, now that evil has found a lodgment in it. Every wrong that has ever been perpetrated demands redress, and God's position in His universe, and His revelation to His creatures, declares Him to be the natural vindicator of the right, and therefore, too, the avenger and redresser of their wrongs. "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." We are to leave this whole matter in His hands, assured, that justice will finally, be thoroughly administered. God, we say it with reverence, is obliged, from the moral necessity residing in Himself, and from the relation in which He stands with respect to the moral universe,—is obliged, to punish wrongs, evil, of any description. "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right." Seeing, then, retribution is an inevitable fact, and since such a dispensation has nothing in it calculated to lead to repentance and faith; since, therefore, it can never bring about such a change of heart, it follows, that there must be a state where there is no possibility of such a change, and, therefore, none, of a future restoration. There is, then, a hopelessly impenitent state, and corresponding to it an endless retribution. Universalism is then, in that it demands an universal final restoration, a psychical impossibility. Impossible, because man is a free agent;

because Monoism is a fallacy ; because retribution is a moral necessity ; because, in fine, endless retribution is a psychical, and a moral necessity.

Universalism, is a moral result, and as such, has its legitimate causes. It is, when it is pure, and not used as an excuse for continuance in sin, the effort of human nature to escape the terrifying fact of an eternal punishment. To those dispositions which are of a mild and benevolent type, such a fearful finality as impending any portion of the race of which they are members, no matter how wicked soever the sinner may be ; to such dispositions, such a doom appears too awful to be true ; they cannot and will not endure the thought of it : hence the system of Universalism, and its advocacy by such men as an Origen, a Clement of Alexandria, and other good men. This on the human side. On the divine ; regarding the goodness of God only, such benevolent dispositions find it impossible to conceive of Him, as dooming any of His creatures to eternal torment ; they cannot but believe Him to delight in the happiness of His creatures, and cannot give up the hope that, by some means or other, He will in the end succeed in bringing men to repentance, faith, and thus to salvation ; and even if not by such means, still they cling to the hope that in some other way, though incomprehensible to us, God's omnipotence will succeed in finally conquering the sinner, and in restoring him to virtue and happiness. These two positions, taken together, constitute, what gives rise to Universalism, that is, in its integrity. For inasmuch as such a belief is most comfortable to human nature, naturally it will be popular, and will be heartily welcomed by those who are impure and who delight in sin. And could such a creed but become generally received, the consequences would be most appalling ; inevitably all those barriers which God in His merciful providence has erected against vice, would be swept away, and soon, very soon, this

world would become a very hell. It is fear, and that alone, that can restrain the impure and the ungodly. The spread of Universalism is fraught with danger to society, and carries with it an ominous aspect. There is, however, this counter ground of hope, that inasmuch as Universalism contradicts some of the fundamental facts of our consciousness, it is not probable that it can ever become the prevalent religious system. It can seldom, if ever, entirely banish the fear of death and of the Judgment; the consciousness of guilt is too firmly planted in human nature to be so easily uprooted. There is, then, this hope.

That the spirit of Universalism is widely diffused, is apparent, in the stand which society so generally takes in relation to retributive justice. The fact that a man deserves to suffer for his crime, that punishment is his due, his just award; that in its omission, injustice is perpetrated; this view of crime seems to have entirely disappeared. To pardon the guilty, can be as much an act of injustice, as to punish the innocent. Retribution is a due, a moral necessity attaching to guilt. But this connection seems, now, to be entirely overlooked. All the sympathies of society, seem, to go out towards the guilty; none feel with the injured party. And yet he has his rights; and to ignore them, is to perpetrate a rank injustice. To apportion the punishment to the offence, is of course, a matter of delicacy, requiring a just judgment; justice here again comes in, and ought to adjudge the proper award. It is unjust to hang a man for stealing, no matter how necessary it be for the welfare of society. Such an act, no matter how legal the process, cries to high heaven for vengeance. The land which has such laws is polluted, with the shedding of innocent blood. But, on the other hand, it is just as unjust to pardon the murderer, or commute his sentence: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed. For in the

image of God created He him." This is an eternal fact, a law of justice, and until carried into effect, the blood of the murdered man pollutes the land in which it is shed, and cries to heaven for vengeance. So widely is this weakly, sentimental, unjust, infidel spirit, of Universalism, now diffused, that the whole system of our civil polity has been infected by it. Justice, distributive and retributive, as elements in the civil economy of the State, are now, very generally, disastrously ignored; and justice, so called, is administered without any reference to its eternal demands. Society, it is said, has only to consider its own wellbeing. Civil government, it is said, has no higher law than expediency. And how, is what is expedient, to be determined? Not by reference to the judgments of an Eternal justice, — which, if it only were done, would in the end be found to be true expediency. No, there is no settled way now for determining what is expedient, but only the ever fluctuating opinions, of our often ignorant, and generally corrupt and unprincipled legislators and governors. Eternal justice, is the highest and truest expediency; and unless this is discovered and acted upon in time, society will begin to disintegrate, and will collapse. Men will suffer anything rather than injustice: it requires oftentimes all the faith and resolution of the Christian to stand quiet and to endure wrong; and even he could not, were it not written, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." When civil government fails to administer justice, men will take the matter into their own hands. Retribution is a necessity of man's moral nature. God, in the Scriptures, meets that necessity, and will satisfy it; and this is all that the Scriptures require of us in this matter. They do not demand a suppression of this instinct, but only that we should refer our cases to Him who judgeth righteously, and to whom vengeance properly belongeth. The fact that "every one

of us must give an account of himself to God ;" that " we must all stand before the Judgment-seat of Christ to receive, according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or bad ;" that the demands of impartial justice will therefore finally be manifestly vindicated : this fact, stands, the very corner-stone of God's moral government of the universe. Were not this belief as firmly imbedded in the human consciousness as it is, this world of ours would soon become a moral chaos, a perfect hell of confusion and wickedness. The consciousness of such a future fact, dim and undefined as it often is, is what lies at the bottom of all our systems of legislation. For what, primarily, is the whole complex system of law and penalty, but an expression of the principle of justice ; the application of justice to the various relations in which man as a social being stands with respect to his fellow-man. It is the effort of law, to make man act with justice, towards his fellow-man ; and this it strives to effect, by threatening punishment to the offender. When man, as a citizen, fails to act justly towards his fellow, and wrongs him, then justice requires, that the wrong-doer, as the perpetrator of an act of injustice, should be punished ; the nature and severity of such punishment to be determined according to the principles of the same justice. Justice, in the civil polity, first, seeks to prevent injustice ; but when injustice is perpetrated, it can maintain itself only by punishing such injustice. It is the departure from this unfailing rule of God's eternal justice, and substituting in its stead the uncertain one of a short-sighted, uncertain expediency, that constitutes, the danger, that now besets society, in this direction. Such a reaction, against the principle of justice, is an unhealthy sign ; there is much to be feared in it. Justice, is the only principle, that society, organized under a civil polity, ought to regard and attempt to realize. And when it ceases to be fairly,

honestly, and righteously administered, then the disintegration of that society is determined upon, the fatal handwriting has appeared upon the wall.

Universalism, regarding the goodness of God, holds, that He will have all to be saved, and would eternally damn none; then regarding His omnipotence, it holds, that this good-will of God towards man will finally be realized. In order, then, to meet the demands of such a system, the Monoistic principle must be introduced. The Monoistic principle is borrowed from Calvinism. In Emerson — who issues from the very centre of Puritanism — this doctrine has finally reached its climax. Under his system, man, as an individual, responsible being, has disappeared. Each individual is but the expression and a manifestation of the "Over soul." Thus, man is God; and man thinking, feeling, and willing, is God thinking, feeling, and willing. Man is then no longer a responsible being; there is no one for him to be responsible to. To be himself, to act in accordance with the demands of his own constitution, is to be virtuous and religious. This Pantheism, is, we say, the natural result of the Monoistic principle. It magnifies the power of God, but it does so at the sacrifice of man's individuality, and, therefore, of his responsibility. It ends in having only one being in the universe; all the diversities which appear, being only the various manifestations of such a being, — thus, finally, man loses his own individuality, and becomes, the All. Pantheism is the congenial element of Universalism, and therefore we find them generally sympathizing with each other. Evidently the Universalism of this age, is a reaction against Calvinism; yet it has not torn itself completely loose from it, for it takes with it the fundamental dictum of Calvinism, its Monoistic principle. It is a revolt against the major premise of Calvinism, but retains its minor. Corresponding with such an analysis, we see Uni-



versalism generally takes its rise and flourishes within communities, which were previously and decidedly Calvinistic. The Monoistic doctrine is, as a generalization, too hasty. In attempting to maintain the monarchism of God and the unity of the universe, it denies, or ignores free will. True, God's will, as a determinative counsel or plan, is in the end inevitably realized; but it is in the face of, and consistently with, the fact of free agency. Free will necessitates a dualism in the universe. There are now two powers at work in the universe, and they can be opposed the one to the other; the creature can resist his creator. Thus it is in the case of the devil, and thus, to a great extent, is it with man. God is the creator of free will; therefore He has seen fit to limit or condition Himself. And the problem now presented is, to control this tremendous and now refractory force of free agency. The Monoistic principle, adopted in Galvinism and by Universalism, is an effort to explain the manner of this, God's moral government; but it ignores free will, and naturally results in Pantheism. True, God's will is finally realized, both in the saved and the lost, but in a way in which full consideration is given to the element of free will. God saves all who can be, or who will be saved. He damns, or subjects to an endless retribution, all who cannot and who will not be brought to repentance and faith. Thus in both cases, His will is realized. And the same is true of the will of the free agent, — his will, too, is realized; his award is just in accordance with what he would have: what he sows, that in the end he reaps. Thus, free will, is not a mere figment of the imagination, a delusion, but a reality; man is fearfully responsible, and Pantheism becomes impossible. The monarchism of God, maintained and explained according to the Monoistic principle, seems simple enough; it is easily comprehensible, because it is shallow, for things are often easy just in proportion to their shallowness. But such

a theory is unsatisfactory ; it does not take into account all the facts of the case ; it overlooks the important fact of free will, and is, therefore, as a canon of interpretation, fallacious ; and since upon it rests the possibility of Universalism, it too, is a falsehood.

It is evident, that from the very beginning, there has been a strong effort on the part of human nature to make an end of evil. That the belief in the immortality of the human being is almost, if not entirely, universal, is evident from the universal prevalence of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. In this doctrine, two subordinate points are involved : first, a belief in the immortality of the soul, and secondly, a belief, with an effort to explain its method, in the final abolition of the element of evil. For that such is the final end aimed at in this process of transmigration, is clear ; it was no doubt originally simply the symbolic declaration of such a doctrine, and then, soon came also to express the manner of the purgatorial process. Thus it was understood by Pythagoras, and by Plato, who lays down the number of years necessarily consumed in the process.

The very same tendency which led in the first place to the formation of such a doctrine and system, operating subsequently within the consciousness of the Alexandrine fathers, in a Clement and an Origen, led to the Christian version of this doctrine, which was by them first enunciated. Thus in the Alexandrian doctrine of a "final restoration," the heathen doctrine of transmigration passed over into Christianity, and became thenceforth, to a considerable extent, prevalent as a dogma, in the Christian consciousness. Nothing, however, was propounded as to the manner by which this purgation was to be accomplished. Only one point in the heathen formula was appropriated by the Alexandrine Christianity, namely, the fact of the final abolition of evil ; the manner of the process was for the time left un-

explained. Clement and Origen, taught nothing as to transmigration, of souls, not even the doctrine of Purgatory. Their Neo-Platonism did not carry them so far; they only brought over with them from Platonism to Christianity the idea of a final restoration, which opinion, they thought they found a sanction for, in the Scriptures. The doctrine of Purgatory was an advance; and although in the Western Church the other point of a final restoration did not take root, as it had done in the East, still this doctrine of Purgatory was from the same source—the old heathen doctrine, as set forth in the Metempsychosis. In the doctrine of Purgatory, a method of purgation is propounded; it is still the same old tendency striving to realize itself. In this modern formula, for the old heathen doctrine of metempsychosis, there is a decided narrowing and limitation of it. The purgation is held to apply only to a few, to imperfect saints, or, at the furthest, to the baptized; but still it may be recognized as the same old heathen doctrine of transmigration of souls, the same old tendency reappearing and now operating within the Christian consciousness, narrowed and limited by means of positive dogmas.

The Universalism of this age, again presents before us, the operation of this same force: at once we recognize it as the same principle that gave rise to the Roman dogma of Purgatory; further back we recognize it in the theology of Alexandria, and, as seen, in the doctrine of a final restoration; further back still, we find the same thing in the Metempsychosis of Pythagoras and Plato, and further back still, as an element in all the religions of the East. This tendency, evidently, is deeply seated in human nature, and cannot be restrained, not even by the most explicit statements contradicting it in revelation. Man finds it hard to give up the hope, that perhaps, after all, things may turn out happily. Perhaps, he thinks, after all, this may be but a

dream, a frightful nightmare, and we may awake to find that it is all an illusion. It is hard for man to give up all hope, and to feel that all is lost, that life is in fact a grim reality; that after death there is the Judgment; and behind all, eternal punishment; that every one that believeth not shall be damned, eternally lost; this, we say, man finds it hard to believe, and therefore — Universalism. But thus it is written, and an analysis of the true state of the case will show us that what is written is in fact the truth; that it is reasonable, that it is just; that it is a moral and psychical necessity in God; a moral and psychical necessity in man; that it is impossible that it should be otherwise,— therefore, that it is inevitable.

## CHAPTER VI.

### CIVILIZATION, AND DEVIL-WORSHIP.

**A**S long as the world will persist in worshipping the Devil, so long will its highest and seemingly most glorious creations prove themselves mere bubbles. The kingdom of the devil necessarily is an illusion. It presents often a glorious aspect, and mocks humanity with the hopes which it begets. Civilization, the highest expression and manifestation of all human kingdoms, often seems glorious to behold, and everything seems to be progressing towards a magnificent finality. Thus mankind is lured along, and while earnestly engaged in building the structure, becomes absolutely intoxicated with the rapidity of its erection. He thinks that he is founding a kingdom which cannot be moved. Like the ancients after the flood, he fondly imagines that he is building another Babel, whose head shall soar over the very clouds, and whose foundations shall not be removed; no matter how terrible any future convulsion. And yet this is all a delusion; he is but blowing a bubble, which may burst at any moment; he is erecting a structure which will in the end collapse, from the rottenness of its foundation, and from the weakness of the material of which it is built. Already in the history of the world there have been many civilizations, and they have all vanished, collapsed, and the place that once knew them shall know them no more. Civilization; what is it? It is an ultimate result, arising from the conjoint operation of all the forces

acting within any definite section of the human race. Abstractly or theoretically, there might be but one civilization common to the whole human race; but practically, as history witnesses, this is not the case. The human race seems to be divided into natural sections or families; and each one of these sections has its own peculiar civilization. The individuality of nations is as determinate as is that of persons; what it is that determines this national individuality, whether it be race or situation, under which we include all climatic influences; what it is that draws these lines, and makes one people or nation so decidedly different from another, it is hard to say; still, that there are, and always have been, such lines of demarcation, is, evidently a fact. Corresponding to such differences, there have always been marked differences within that general result which we term civilization. Different peoples, during different periods of the world's history, have constantly presented their own distinct and characteristic forms of civilization. Nineveh and Babylon in Asia, give us one, and perhaps the most ancient, of these forms. Egypt, too, presents another of these ancient results in civilization. Descending in the line of history; in the Western world, we come in contact with the civilization of Greece; and then with that of the Roman Empire, which precedes the civilization of the Middle Ages; which fades away into ours, that in which we now find ourselves placed. Each of those empires, during the periods of their respective existence, presented its own peculiar phase of civilization; what it is that determines this product, is, we say, impossible exactly to fix upon. But that such phases of civilization have existed, that for many years they flourished, and that they have now passed away, apparently never to return; these are all facts; and in forming any theory, on this subject of civilization, they ought to be taken into consideration. That there are

varieties in the forms of civilization, is no more strange, than that there are characteristic differences in individuals. We cannot tell why it is that one man has a talent for mechanics, another for the fine arts, another for literature, and another for trade; that there are such marked differences in individuals and characters, is evident; and the same thing is true of nations. The civilization of any particular people will give us, in its characteristic features, — in that which distinguishes it from the civilization of any other people, — the peculiar genius of that particular people. Thus, take those representative peoples, the Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans. The Jews give us religion, as their characteristic feature; the Greeks give us the fine arts; the Romans give us law and the power of organization, the idea of solidarity. And so, we might take any other nation, and point out the characteristic feature in its civilization. What was the characteristic feature of the Mediæval civilization? Evidently, it was but the Roman principle taking hold of, and seeking to mould the Jewish. Christianity was of the Jews; as a religion it took possession of the Roman Empire; and thenceforth, its history is, but the evolution of a sacerdotal Imperialism; a mixture of the Roman and Jewish elements. The Papal constitution in its gradual evolution, and in its finality as exhibited under a Hildebrand, was but the genius of the old Roman Empire, working within the sphere of the ecclesiastical and spiritual. The ecclesiastical empire could never have reached its final proportions in any other society and age, than in one thus pervaded by the spirit of Roman Cæsarism.

All the nations now existing, have their own peculiar characteristic forms of civilization. But here, a limitation is to be observed. In former times, when the segregation of nations was much more complete than it is now, the differences of national civilization were necessarily much more

marked than now. The first great aggregation of mankind that we know of, was that under the Roman Empire. Rome in conquering a large portion of the then world, brought all the former separated portions of mankind into a much more intimate union with each other than had ever before existed. The consequence of such a unity was, necessarily, a community, more or less, in civilization. There was an amalgamation, more or less complete, and the whole Empire partook, to some extent, of the civilization of its most civilized portion. A community of civilization was thus established, the points of difference being reduced, and merged in a more general and unique whole. And just what the Roman Empire did, for that portion of the world over which its sway extended, Christianity and the appliances of the civilization of the day, does for us. The nations of Christendom cannot be considered as entirely different; their distinctive characteristics have necessarily been somewhat modified and impaired. A common religion, a literature, which, even when the languages differ, still by means of translations, now become so usual, is common to all, and which penetrates all; such influences, must necessarily tend to amalgamate the whole, and to bring them all within the sphere of a certain unity of mind and of sentiment. True, even with all this, still national characteristics are decidedly marked, but not near so strongly as would have been the case had these amalgamating instrumentalities not existed. There is then a higher and more general individuality now, than the national; such, for instance, as the one designated by the term Christendom. Just as the Jew was distinct from the Gentile, so is the Christian world, or family of nations, distinct from the heathen national Hierarchy. The civilization of the Christian nations, is, then, subject to this modification; and just in proportion as these modifying influences are general, will their form of civilization be unique. The



civilization of the heathen group, or family of nations, is distinct from that of the Christian nations. And in proportion as they are isolated from each other, will the difference in this respect, be marked. But here, also, in many cases, the same modifying influences, such as a common religion and literature, are to be found at work, and must of course, therefore, be taken into consideration ; and this will often serve to account for much of that sameness, which is alike observable in the civilization of such separate heathen nations. There are not many sections of the race so entirely isolated, as to have nothing in common with their fellow-men. There are some, however, apparently, in such a situation ; the African seems to be one in point. Their civilization, what there is of it, is unique ; is of themselves, and marks them out as conspicuous in their individuality. The state of isolation is, naturally, the one best adapted to the maintenance of a distinct individuality. Contact, necessarily tones down differences, and tends to assimilate. The more free the intercourse, the less probability there is, of difference. Thus, it is observable, that in the unity of a people, there is an-evident sameness ; the whole body is pervaded by one spirit. We can observe such an influence at work, first in families, which constitute the primary unities of the human race. Every family has its own tone, more or less marked, modified necessarily, to some extent, by the influences prevalent in the society of which it is a member. Every family has its more general or national, and then, its more specific, its own peculiar tone. Every nation, subject to the same conditions, resulting from its contact with other families of nations, has its own peculiarities, its national characteristics. And furthermore, inasmuch as there is a certain communion between the various families of nations which are contemporaneous, it is observable, that every *age* has its characteristic features. We can designate eras, as

truly, and as characteristically, as we can individuals and nations.

Civilization, in its gradual evolution, and in its finality, gives such a result, as the forces peculiar to human nature, are capable of effecting. It is the result, not of any one, but of all the forces belonging to human nature. It is the flower and the fruit of humanity. Like the aloe, it generally, in fact invariably, takes a long time to come to maturity. Like that plant, it blooms but once; that is to say, the perfection or climax in any nation's civilization is reached but once; and then it begins to die. Of course, all along, during the process of such a growth or evolution there is a civilization; but not in its perfection: after that is reached, thenceforth the process is reversed, and assumes that of a decline. Nations, like individuals, have their day. Like individuals, they have their eras of youth, maturity, and old age; and finally they die, and leave nothing, but dust, behind them. Owing to the segregation which has up to this time existed with respect to the various sections of mankind, there has been no such general unity as an universal, common, civilization. There is not now, nor ever has been, one civilization common to the whole human race. There is such a thing common to certain aggregations of national families, so that we can truly speak of a Christian, or European, or Western civilization; or again, of an Eastern civilization; and we have a definite notion of what is thereby meant. Under such expressions we know what is signified. When we read of Chinese or Japanese, or of Hindoo, or of African civilization, we have as definite a notion of what is meant as when we hear of the civilization of Christendom. And perhaps the day may come, when there will be a still more general unity, and when the term, human civilization will, too, suggest a definite idea. Not that all nations will be entirely alike; no more so than

England and France and Germany and Russia now are; that would be to ignore the principle of individuality. Still, consistently with such individuality, and therefore characteristic forms of civilization, there might be, as there is now, within Christendom a general civilization, common to all — an one universal human civilization. History, we say, gives us no such universal civilization; it gives us many distinct characteristic forms of civilization, the manifestation of the life of the different individual nations or empires during certain periods. It gives us, when the details are to be had, the rise, progress, decline, and final disappearance of certain human establishments; and why is this so? Why is it that no civilization is permanent, and blazes up, apparently, only soon to expire? Why is it that every form of civilization that has hitherto existed has proved so ephemeral? Is this a necessity? does it belong to the constitution of human nature? is it one of its laws, or is it only accidental? The presence of such a state of things, as an indisputable historic fact, has, in order to its explanation, led to the framing of various theories with respect to the nature of civilization. That, hitherto, all the forms of civilization have proved ephemeral is a fact, to which all history bears witness. But that this must always be the case, that it is a law of human nature, is not so evident. It is true that all former civilizations have so far been ephemeral; but may not some form of it — the one we now enjoy, for instance — may not this prove otherwise? May it not even be progressive? and may it not in the end extend over and pervade the whole race? Such a theory is certainly in direct opposition to the teachings of history: it is therefore highly improbable; still, it is not impossible. It is certainly much more philosophical to generalize upon the facts of history, than, from an excess of sanguinity, to conclude in its teeth. And though we may be proud of our

peculiar civilization, and think it vastly superior to any that has gone before, this is no argument for its permanency ; and still less, for its progressive prevalency. So far, then, as concerns history, the doctrine of a permanent and infinitely progressive civilization is directly in antagonism with it. Such a theory cannot then emanate from history ; it must come from some other source. So far from accounting for the facts of the past, it serves only to render them incomprehensible. It is certainly much more reasonable to conclude, that there is some reason, and a grave one, for all these previous failures, than thus carelessly to throw aside all these facts, and wildly to imagine, that now, it is going to be different. Why so ? why is it going to be so different this time ? The continued repetition of an event, ought to make us suspect, that there is some reason, why this is so, and should lead us carefully to inquire into the matter. And inasmuch as, such an historic phenomenon, has so far invariably presented itself, there must certainly be some deeply-seated reason for its existence. The theory of an infinitely progressive and expansive, and therefore of a permanent civilization, is not the one which can be used in explanation of the facts of history ; it ignores such facts, and therefore can give us no account of the principle which must lie at the root of such facts, as their cause.

Other theories, start, with crediting these historic facts, and then attempt to account for them. They all take it for granted, that there is some real reason, why civilization has so uniformly proved a failure ; any such theory is but the effort to formulate these reasons. The theory which considers the individual and the race as microcosm and macrocosm, the stages in the individual life, being representative of those of the race ; which regards the nation as but an individual on a large scale, and partaking of his ephemeral character. Such a theory, makes, the ephemeral nature of

civilization, inasmuch as it is but the manifestation of an individual life, essential to it. Thus, inasmuch as man is mortal, and in the end passes away, so with civilization; each of its forms is individual, and subject to the same vicissitudes as is the individual person. Under this theory, the element of individuality, resides not in the race as a whole, but in particular nations or peoples. Each distinct nation, or people, is considered in the light of an individual existence, with features as distinctly marked as in the case of the individual personality; as, in fact, a collective individual, and, like the person, is born, grows, for a while enjoys the estate of maturity, then begins to decline, grows old, dies, and is buried. Thus with any people, and so with its civilization. In its relation to civilization, the race cannot certainly, up to this time, be considered in its unity as an individual. There being no such fact as a common and universal civilization in history, this theory has not to account for it, and does not undertake to. It deals only with such individualities as are to be found decidedly marked, in history. According, then, to this theory, the ephemeral character of all civilizations, is owing to a fundamental law which pertains to human nature, so far as it is national, — so far as it falls into various tribes, nations, families, or by whatever names we choose to call such distinct unities. Every such distinct section of humanity, subject to that modification induced by contact with others, that is, by the civilization common to every family of nations, — as those of Christendom, for instance, — subject to such a modification, which necessarily works more or less of an assimilation, according to this theory, every nation goes through certain stages of civilization; and after reaching the highest point which it is capable of attaining, declines. Each nation, like the individual, has its own characteristics, and these its civilization brings conspicuously out. Thus Egypt.

tian civilization gives us agriculture and the mechanical arts. Greek civilization gives us philosophy and the fine arts. Roman civilization presents, conspicuously, law, the principle of organization, or political solidarity.

Another view of this subject, while it takes cognizance of the ephemeral nature of the civilizations of the past, imagines that it can detect some order in such a succession of facts. It considers that in these various forms of civilization it can detect a movement; as with the rising tides the successive waves come up higher and higher upon the beach; so with civilization, it is thought, each succeeding phase or form of it goes farther, and is more perfect than its predecessor. Thus, it is supposed, there is observable a gradual advance; and though each particular form of civilization, like every particular wave, must expend itself and then retire, yet, on the whole, there is an advance, and the next succeeding form will be a higher and a more perfect one than the preceding. This, like the preceding theory, recognizes that there is something in human nature which renders civilization, in any given form, ephemeral. It acknowledges as an historic fact the evanescent nature of former phases of civilization, and undertakes to account for it; at the same time it would comfort itself with the fancied assurance that it can detect something steady, an advance, in what appears to others, to be but a series of dissolving views. As explanatory of this dissolving nature of former civilizations, it is, however, by this theory acknowledged, that there is something, some fundamental law in human nature, which renders all the former efforts at a long-lived and complete civilization thus abortive.

According to both of these theories, it would seem to be the destiny of the human race to be forever begetting, but never to rear and bring to perfection any form of civilization; to be ever aiming at the perfect, but never attaining

it; to beget, only in order to bury. Is such the inevitable fate of all human civilizations? Is this a necessity of human nature? if not, then wherefore is it? True, the sanguine can easily cut this "Gordian knot." But how? by ignoring the lessons of the past, and by wildly conjecturing that ours, the present civilization of the European family of nations, is to be perpetual; that is, is not to vanish like those of former days, but is, on the contrary, continually to advance and to extend itself, until it include within its pale the utmost limits of the earth. If this be really so, then the difficulty is solved, and there is really nothing in human nature that withholds a perfect, universal, consummate civilization. But that this is so, is yet to be proven. Judging from the past, to say the least of it, it is extremely doubtful. In fact, on other grounds, we feel ourselves fully warranted boldly to deny such a conclusion. None of the present forms of civilization, we feel authorized to say, can, from the very nature of the case, prove to be enduring; like their antecedents, they will in the end, like them, dissolve and vanish away, to be in time succeeded by others, the same process to be repeated *ad infinitum*, until other principles than those now forming the basis of civilization shall come into action, and the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of God's own Son. When righteousness and truth and mercy become the foundation of the social structure; when all the world shall learn to fear God and keep His commandments—all of which we have no reason to expect to take place on this earth under its present economy,—then, and not until then, will civilization stand firm, advance, going ever on to perfection, never retrograding or collapsing, as it now so invariably does.

The true reason why every effort towards the realization of civilization has proven, up to this time, abortive; why all of its forms have so inevitably collapsed, is, because the

kingdoms of this world are in reality the kingdoms of the devil; because men worship and serve the devil rather than God; because the social structure is built upon the rotten foundations of selfishness, injustice, and falsehood. It is because of this, its rotten foundation, that the social structure so repeatedly and so inevitably tumbles down. Remove this foundation, and substitute for it one which is of God, one of truth and of justice, and then the structure will stand.

A final analysis of the reasons why all former civilizations have collapsed, and why the present European civilization will in due time do so likewise, gives us idolatry. What is idolatry? It is the worship of a false god. Again; what is worship? It is not the mere outward bending of the knee, or the prostration of the body before some real or imaginary God. True worship is of the heart and Spirit; it is the dedicating of one's self, the yielding up of body and soul, the devotion of all life's energies, to the service of any person or thing. The man who devotes all his energies to the service of another; whose soul and body is rendered a living sacrifice to the will of another, worships him. Worship, ultimately, resides, not in acts, but in spirit; in devotion and surrender of self to another. "God is spirit," and "they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit." The surrender, then, of soul and body; the devotion of all the energies of life in the service of a person, or towards the attainment of a thing, is to worship him, or it, as the case may be. Man can worship a thing as really as a person. In ancient times, idea-worship was unusual; but now it is very general. Ideas are now very generally the god, or gods, of men; and perhaps, in the course of time, they may undergo apotheosis, and give rise to a new hierarchy and cultus. The idea to which a man surrenders himself, soul and body, to the service of which he devotes



all his energies, in order to its realization ; that idea is in reality that man's god ; he worships it in spirit, and perhaps in truth ; he offers himself a living sacrifice, holy or unholy — according as the idea is good or bad — and acceptably, in its service. That idea has become his god ; and that he shall in its service be degraded or elevated, saved or lost, depends entirely upon the nature of the idea so deified. Polytheism is not a thing of the past, nor even the heathen gods. Because men do not recognize their idolatry, is no reason why it is not. Formerly, men had the habit of impersonating the objects of their worship ; thus they must become really conscious of what were the objects of their adoration. Every man no doubt had his own favorite deity, and one that had already been constructed for him by previous worshippers of the same constitutional tendency with himself. Those with similar constitutional tendencies very naturally found themselves drawn towards the same gods, and thus naturally inclined to be fellow-worshippers. All revellers, very naturally, in a common fellowship, worshipped Bacchus ; the licentious, Venus ; the warlike, Mars, or Janus ; the lovers of the fine arts and of literature worshipped Apollo or Minerva, and the ambitious and proud, the great Jove. Polytheism is a very convenient religious system ; it permits of the reconciliation of God and Mammon ; and not only with Mammon, but with every other object which proves attractive to human beings. Every man can, under such a system, choose his patron god ; and while gratifying natural propensities, indulging, perhaps, in the most degrading pursuits, he can at the same time, and without inconsistency, have the satisfaction of thinking, that he is worshipping and serving his god. And this is the reason why idolatry proves such a terrible scourge to fallen humanity. First, men impersonate some idea, or some attractive object ; then making this formally the ob-

ject of their worship, under its sanction, as of a deity, they, in its service as worshippers, indulge often, their most beastly propensities. How otherwise can we account for the frequent bestiality of the heathen cultus? only on this principle, that therein men and women certainly pretended, and we cannot but think, in fact believed, that by and in such practices, they were worshipping their gods. Heathenism is conscious idolatry, because the objects worshipped are called gods; unblushingly, men have learned to call what they adore by its real name, and are not ashamed openly to worship such gods. With us, idolatry, though just as real, is yet unrecognized, as such. Men are actually worshipping false gods without knowing it. They have never recognized the fact to themselves. This idolatry being an unconscious one, is therefore less unblushing; thus men, who in reality do worship Bacchus, Venus, or Mammon, are ashamed to own it to themselves, and still more so, to confess it to others. The worshippers of the gods of sensuality have now to keep their cultus in the background, for their gods are, for the present, under an interdict, though it may not be so always. The gods of heathenism, whose worship was most palpably degrading, though still not without hosts of worshippers, are for the present, as recognized deities, banished. But without them, still the number of present deities is ample. Our Pantheon is by no means empty; and though we have no Roman Senate entrusted with the power of apotheosis, still we have gods sufficient and worshippers in abundance. Our idolatry, so far as it concerns its public recognition, has taken a less gross form than that formerly existing under Greek and Roman Polytheism. But here it must be observed, that just as each nation has its own peculiar genius and characteristics, so it has its own peculiar gods. Humanity has many things in common, so that, as a general rule, none of the gods are entirely alien to human

nature. The same fundamental tendencies beget the same wants, and therefore the same gods ; thus the very same god is to be found in different sections of the race, under a different name. Ashtaroth of Judea is Astarté of Phœnicia, and the Venus of Greece and Rome ; and so of many others. The Roman empire—which was the world in microcosm—apprehending this fact, sagaciously received within its own Pantheon the deities of the nations which it conquered, and by law sanctioned the legitimacy of their divinities and of their cultus. But each nation has its characteristic points, and therefore its favorite or patron deities ; and the nature of such a hierarchy will inevitably correspond with, and therefore declare, the peculiar nature and characteristic points, of any particular people. Thus it can easily be ascertained from the cultus of any nation, which gives us a list of its favorite or patron deities, what are the peculiar tendencies and characteristics of such a people. Isis, the goddess of Egypt, and the whole cultus of her worship, proves the Egyptians to have been an agricultural and a mechanical people. The worship of Apollo, and of Minerva, the favorite deities of Greece, would designate that people as being the disciples of philosophy and of the fine arts ; and that of Rome, though much more cosmopolitan—a fact which is characteristic of the peculiar genius of that nation—still the cultus of Rome, would doubtless, designate that nation, in accordance with the peculiar features of its genius. By applying the same principles to any people professedly idolatrous, we might in turn gain similar information ; and thus we might arrive at a knowledge of the characteristics and peculiarities of any people. But when the nation is not openly idolatrous, the test is not so easily applied. Though it is not so self-evident, still it is not the less true, that each nation has some thing, or things, some idea, or ideas, god, or gods,—it matters not what we call it, or them,—which

it peculiarly loves and worships. And what a nation thus, as a whole, surrenders itself to, and exercises all of its energies towards, in order towards its realization, that, we say, is the god; or, if there be many such objects, the gods of such a people. "Covetousness," says St. Paul, "is idolatry." That is to say, the man who devotes himself, soul and body, to the pursuit of gain, is an idolater. Such an one, according to Christ's statement, is a worshipper of Mammon. Gain, wealth, material prosperity, progress — by whatever name we choose to call it — Mammon, a generic term, applicable to all such objects, is the god of such; and the melancholy part of it is, that while the mammon worshipper is pampering this most formidable of modern lusts, covetousness, he is at the same time at liberty to comfort himself with the false assurance that he is serving the true God. And yet He, who ought to know, expressly says, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." But whether such a man cares or not about this side of the question, still it stands a truth: he is certainly an idolater; as much so, though not consciously, as is any heathen devotee. Mammon is his god; and if he care about religion, he will convince himself, that in pandering to his covetousness, he is serving God; which, in reality, he is doing, for his god is Mammon. To worship the true God, we must worship in spirit and in truth; to worship Mammon, we must do so in worldliness and falsehood. And since such a kind of worship is congenial to the natural man, mammon-worship will inevitably be a popular one. The God of this age, certainly so far as concerns a large section of the European civilized family, is this same mammon; which, in its turn, is but one of the delusive phantoms held up by the devil, just as it was presented to Christ in His temptations in the wilderness, as a reward for devil-worship. In worshipping it, we are in fact but worshipping the devil; not consciously so, perhaps, but truly;

and as a consequence we shall reap the devil's wages. Our boasted civilization, mushroom-like, will decay, as rapidly as it grew. The same causes which overthrew the civilizations that are past, now operating disastrously within and upon the civilization of the present, unless some change takes place, — which is scarcely to be hoped for, — will inevitably undermine, blast, and overthrow it; and the time will come when future generations, looking backwards, will contemplate the now much vaunted civilization of the nineteenth century as a thing that is then no more: just as we now reflect upon the vanished glory of Nineveh and Babylon, and Thebes and Memphis.

The god or goddess of this age, and of this country in particular, is "material prosperity;" the name which she generally goes by, is "progress;" and were we but as imaginative, religious, and æsthetic as were the ancient Greeks, we would, by this time, have had for her, a mythic name, a shrine, and a cultus. The French defied reason, and like the ancients, set up a woman to represent it. We have not yet proceeded so far; but we, just as really, worship something that is not the true God. Material progress, with us, takes the place of the French goddess of Reason; and perhaps even now, some artist, in the quiet of his studio, is conceiving the form which our future goddess is to take, in marble. Polytheism is by no means a thing of the past, it exists now in full force in lands calling themselves Christian. The Roman Church, in reality now worships a goddess, together with a host of other lesser saint deities. Each religious order, and most individuals within that Church, have their patron saints. The Virgin Mary is the god, or rather goddess, that the Roman Church now most generally worships, a fact proven by the present cultus of that religion, and apparent in the custom now become universal among the Romanists of addressing their prayers, not to God but to her. The Archbishop

of Paris, with a number of his priests, so cruelly murdered under the insurrection of the Commune, just before their execution, addressed themselves in solemn prayer—to whom? Not to God; not to Jesus Christ; but to the Virgin Mary. The religion of such a society is not Christian, but Marian—their religion is properly that idolatry, now known as Mariolatry.

Comte, as we have shown, designs to revive the worship of the goddesses, especially that of Venus. In England, and even more so here in America, a so-called Christian land, we Protestants, can be convicted of a similar design. True, we do not formally proclaim our idolatry; we do not, as the French once did, openly revolt against Christianity, and set up a goddess of Reason; but practically we are guilty of the same thing. On the one hand, we have a theoretical God, whom we profess to worship, and so we build churches and go to church, and perhaps profess Christianity. Professing ourselves Christians, we undertake to sustain a Christian cultus, and some of us perform our parts. But on the other hand, the great mass of society has a real practical deity whom they do in reality worship, and serve, with all their minds and soul and strength,—a deity to whom they devote all their energies, surrendering themselves in this service a willing sacrifice. There is a theoretical God which society professes to worship; there is a practical God, whom the mass of society does worship. A man's real God is the object to which he devotes his whole life. That which he loves and serves with all his soul and mind and strength. It matters not what that object is, whether it be impersonated, as under the Pagan mythology, in the form of a god or goddess; or whether it be of the nature of an idea, as it now is, in the doctrine of "progress." The thing which man bows down to and worships, is in reality, his God. This distinction between the theoretical and the practical, is very

general, and seems to belong to most, if not to all religions. Examine them, and you will find that behind all the lesser and even greater deities, there is still one, the great Unknown, the "One" of Plato; the Abyss; the Darkness, or the Light of Orientalism; the Absolute and Unconditioned of Transcendentalism; the Nihil of Buddhism; — this, the absolute, the infinite, the unknown, the ultimate deity, is to be found within all religions. And under Christianity, though not exactly under the same form, this same distinction is to be found. The Triune God of Christianity is at its basis; but He may not be, and very often is not, the prime object of worship. It is the lesser deities which attract and absorb the worship of the mass. The Romanist worships the Virgin Mary and the Saints. The Protestant, too, has many lords and gods, and although his idolatry is not as formal, it is just as real, as the Pagan and the Romish. The deity of the present age, especially of this country, is what? Evidently, material prosperity, or progress. And every man who is making money, or railroads; who is laying telegraph wires, or who is fabricating scientific theories, or making scientific discoveries of a practical tendency; all whose whole souls and bodies are given up to the pursuit of the practical and the material, are idolaters. Instead of worshipping and serving the true and living God, they are worshipping but a phantasm, conjured up by the devil; a lie presented by him, to be the object of worship for this nineteenth century. To devote one's whole life, soul and body, to any earthly object, is to make it an idol; thus, the gratification of one's ruling-passion, will ever constitute man an idolater, his god being the creature object to which such passion points; yet a man may be the slave of his lusts, or tendencies, and yet not an idolater. He may be in a state of bondage to sin, without being an idolater. Such is the natural condition of the great mass of the race. Idolatry, is a position or attitude of the

soul ; it consists in, substituting something in the place of God, — “a lie,” — as the Apostle Paul calls it ; in the “changing of the truth of God into a lie, and worshipping and serving the creature rather than the Creator.” The substitution of a false idea in the place of the true God, and then worshipping and serving it, rather than the true God, is idolatry. When this is done formally and openly, as it was under Paganism, in the worship of the gods and goddesses, and as it is, now, within the Roman Church ; — then it is palpable, formal idolatry. But when, as with us, an object, material progress, which happens to be at present the popular object of worship, when, as in this case, an object is firmly planted in the public consciousness and occupying the place of God, is really worshipped and served ; here, too, we have an idolatry, not less real than the former, though not publicly declaring itself as such. Now, inasmuch as anything that is not the true God, substituted for Him, as an object of worship, is therein a lie and a false god ; it follows, that in worshipping it, we are in reality, surrendering ourselves to a lie, devoting ourselves to its service. And the truth of this fact is not altered, even should the object thus substituted for God be a good one. It is the fact of its being a substitution for God, and not Himself, that makes it a lie. Nothing can take the place of the true and living God ; any object, no matter how grand and how good it may be ; as a substitute for God, is a delusion and a lie ; and the worship of any such object will in the end plunge the worshippers down into the abyss. The French, proposed, as the real object of their worship, seemingly, a good one ; for surely “liberty, fraternity, and equality,” sounds well enough, but what was the consequence ? — evidently, a plunge into the abyss. Material progress and prosperity, sounds grandly, perhaps ; it seems to be broad and deep, and under some aspects it appears to be a good object ; but in the end it will land, or



rather plunge us, for there is no bottom to it, into that same abyss, into which this, like all other such lies, tends to precipitate men ; and then when it is too late, they will find out what it is to worship the false. No object, however grand and good it may appear to us ; no such object can supply to the soul the place of the true and living God ; therefore they are all lies, as the Apostle tells us, and, of the devil, who is the father of such, and all other lies. Thus, it happens, that in worshipping these lies of the devil, incidentally, we worship him. Thus, we find ourselves, in this boasted nineteenth century, still idolaters, nay, devil-worshippers ; and therefore our civilization, like all former civilizations, will inevitably collapse and prove a delusion. Lies are, after all, hollow, having no substance, and the civilization which is built upon such a foundation, must inevitably come to ruin.

The lie which the present age, and especially this country, has set up, as its deity, is, we say, " material progress," and inasmuch, as such an idol, is, by nature, generic, it becomes for man, a most convenient object of worship. Every man can adopt that form of worship which seems to him best ; that is to say, he can suit himself, follow his own natural inclination ; he can devote himself to the acquisition of wealth or power, or of fame, or to the service of any other object which the natural man craves, and at the same time, he can have the satisfaction of believing, that he is worshipping, and serving faithfully, his God. Thus, under such a religious system, it has become perfectly practicable to serve at the same time God and mammon. An antagonism, which, under true Christianity, as taught by its founder, is absolute, has thus been reconciled ; and very easily, for mammon has become God. It is natural enough that men should become enthusiastic under such a religion ; that they should enter into the service of this nineteenth-century God — Mammon — with the spirit of a most fervent devotion. Men are

naturally fond of money-making; will work faithfully to obtain wealth, notoriety, and any kind of fame; and when these and other objects of a similar character, all included within the sphere of the carnal and of the worldly; when such objects become consecrated as religions; when it is thought that in this indulging self, and sacrificing to the human lusts, we are truly worshipping God; when such a service becomes in fact the cultus of a religion, the orthodox way in which God (that is this lie-god) is to be worshipped; then surely, we have fallen into a most fatal form of idolatry, from which we will yet find it hard to recover ourselves. Evidently, such a religion will be popular; and the religious life, which means a life of worldliness, will become the fashion of the day. Necessarily, the devotees, of such a religious system, become its saints; therefore the more covetous the man; the harder he works in the service of Mammon, the greater his sanctity. The saints of this age, within the pale of this religion, are those who have devoted themselves, soul and body, to advance the material interests of society. They are the men who are engaged in amassing wealth; the men who construct railroads and telegraph lines; the men who subdue nature, and advance material progress generally. Teachers, inasmuch as they are instrumental in assisting the march of progress, by instructing the public, they too, are allowed to take rank, upon the calendar, with the other saints of progress. And the scientists, those of them who are instrumental in destroying former religious creeds, and in so doing, are gloriously liberating the race from the fetters of superstition, they, as highly instrumental in bringing in the millennium, are of the very chiefest of the saints; nay, they are the very apostles of this new god. They stand first upon the calendar. All these worthies; as being instrumental, in advancing the material interests of mankind, having devoted themselves to the service of this idol, soul and body;

all these, as the devoted worshippers of our nineteenth-century goddess, stand forward, as the saints of the present era. The fact is, without our being aware of it, a new religion has been established in our midst. In the very midst of Christendom idolatry has been revived; a new goddess has been set up; and the spirit of this age, our Nebuchadnezzar, is calling upon all of us, requiring of all, that at the sound of cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and other kinds of music, we should fall down and worship it; and from all appearance it would seem, that the time is not very far off, when, if we refuse to comply with these demands, we shall, like the recusants of old, be cast into some burning fiery furnace; for the self-asserting dogmatism, of this new religion, is steadily increasing; already it will scarcely permit contradiction. Before we were aware of it, a new religion has become established in our very midst, whose cultus is now rapidly maturing. Its hierarchy already exists; and as we have said, it promises to be a very despotic one. All that we want, now, is, some Comte, who, with his organizing genius, should bring this new religion into order. Comte, perhaps, was premature in France, or he may have misinterpreted the wants of French society; perhaps it was not yet prepared to receive the goddess of Humanity. But any one can see, that our society, is ready for the organization of a new system of religion. All the elements are prepared. First there is its spirit; its enthusiasm, directed towards one particular object; then there is the principle, its sacerdotalism, already prepared; only waiting, the Hierarchical organization which is to arise out of it, and is to embody it. The principle of sacerdotalism is, what? — evidently, veneration, admiration, worship, and bondage to a class of men, a caste. All this is at hand; nay, more; the Hierarchy is really in existence, only waiting to be formally installed; when it will be formally recognized, as such. Moreover, the mode of

worship, the cultus of this religion, is already in existence; devotion of the life to material progress, is now, a fact. It only needs its ritual, to make it the regular ceremonial, of such a religion. A large portion of society, even now, stands prepared, to serve this goddess in such a way. All that is wanting, is the formal organization of these elements which are already facts; the reducing of them into the shape of a system; thus bringing them out before the public consciousness. Things may exist, long before they are consciously known, to exist; it requires that some man should arise; take hold of these elements, and present them before the public mind by means of the "word," before they will be recognized as existing, and be acknowledged.

Every religion, in order to its successful establishment, requires such antecedent conditions. The founder of a new religion, must be one, who either instinctively takes advantage of such conditions; or he may be one who acts with the consciousness of what he is doing; a man who perceives that the elements of a new order of things is at hand. Seizing upon the present, he appropriates what he finds already prepared; organizes it into a system; and then propounds it to others. A species of crystallization at once takes place; and a new religious system becomes formally established. Thus, doubtless, it was with Buddhism; which was, really, the reformation of Brahminism. Thus, too, it was in the case of Islamism, the religion of Mahomet; and thus to a certain extent it was even in the case of Christianity; and thus, more lately, it was with the Reformation. None of these movements were extemporaneous: the elements out of which they were constituted, were in preparation, long before any of these systems, as such, were formally propounded. When the time came for the movement, the materials being all ready, nought was required save the master-mind and hand to reduce to order, and to give them,

as enunciated, a formal and a systematic consistency. Comte, who in modern times, within the pale of Christianity, essayed to found a new religion, seems to have mistaken the signs of his times. But it looks as though a similar movement to that which seems to have failed in France might prove more successful here, and now. Change the object of worship, and make it material progress instead of woman; take humanity as progressive, and perhaps even yet, this new religion might become an establishment, among us. Such a religious system appears, to us, to be just as fully adapted to the present state of society as was Islam to the fanatical Arabs; as was Buddhism to the speculative mind of Orientalism; or as the papal sacerdotal system was, to the barbarous ferocity and superstition of the Middle Ages.

This substitution, of the idol of material progress, in the place of the true and living God, very naturally begets, Pantheism. So long as society holds, even theoretically, to the God of Revelation, this transition is formally withheld. As long as this is the case, society is still, in theory, Christian; but only theoretically so; for if, in fact, materialism be really worshipped, then society, though not in name, is in reality, Pantheistic; and though it never come out boldly and renounce the God of Revelation; still it really worships some other god; it has in fact fallen from the faith, and ceased to be Christian; and when the object of worship is one like the present, a mere abstraction, a result, an idea, a phantasm, depending upon man's own exertions in order to its realization; inevitably, the religion of such a society becomes, has already become, Pantheistic. Material progress is man's own creature; it is something which he himself is to create: in worshipping such a god, man worships the creature rather than the creator. Moreover, the natural result of such a Pantheistic idolatry, is, that man ceases to

be humble; he becomes proud and self-sufficient; and necessarily so, for such is the character necessary, in order that he may be able to worship, his god. If material progress be the object to which one has devoted all the energies of his life; then evidently, self-reliance and self-sufficiency become a virtue; and therefore it is that this class of idolaters are so eternally harping upon the duty and glorious virtue of self-reliance.

A comparison of the sayings and teachings of the apostles of this new religion with those of the apostles of Christianity, will at once show, how directly antagonistic, the two religions are. Compare Emerson with the Apostle Paul, and observe the contrast. The one exalts, the other pulls down; the one teaches, rely upon yourself; every man is self-sufficient, sufficient for all things; man is God: St. Paul says, "Of mine own self I can do nothing; the life which I now live I live by the faith of the Son of God." "Be clothed with humility," adds St. Peter, "for God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble." And this same contrast is observable in the utterances of all the priests of this religion as compared with those of the apostles of Christianity. Under the one system, pride, egotism, and vanity are applauded, encouraged, and openly advocated as virtues. Under the other, the Christian system, these so-called virtues are to be crucified, as lusts and affections of the mind, and of the flesh. Instead of pride and self-sufficiency, humility and self-distrust are steadily advocated. Of course it is but to be expected, that when man worships his own imagined destiny, he will soon learn to glorify himself. The Pantheism, essentially associated with such a system, must in the end inevitably crop out, and manifest itself. To worship the future of the race; a glorious future, a humanity; is in the end, but to adore self; thus humanity, and consequently, self, becomes God. God is self; which, as such, is

to be adored, glorified, and worshipped. Hence, all those vain, self-glorifying, Pantheistic maxims of this new Hierarchy.

The worship of the goddess Utopia, is not a new thing in the annals of humanity; but up to this time it has never succeeded in actually establishing itself within the consciousness of any age. There have been, previously, various theories, social and religious, enunciated, which proposed to bring in a social millennium. The "Atlantis" of Plato is a theory which proposes such an end: the model republic therein delineated, is the Platonic realization of such an idea. In England, More and Shelley and Robert Owen are the most conspicuous among the apostles of Utopia. In France, a soil fruitful in social theories, there are Babeuf, St. Simon, and Fourier, and lastly Comte, conspicuous as Utopian philosophers. None of these systems has, however, to any extent proved successful. The number of disciples which even the most successful of them has succeeded in enlisting was too small. None of them has succeeded, on any large scale, in becoming formally established. Under all these systems it is laid down as a first principle, that the present miserable condition of human society, is owing to its imperfect and unjust present social organization. Shelley goes still further, and denounces religion — even the Christian — as being responsible, for the present acknowledged miserable state of society. He teaches, that religion is hostile to the development of the "feelings of charity and fraternity;" and, moreover, that "if the inherent goodness of the human heart was but free to work out its mission, the golden age would be realized." All such theorists take for granted the inherent goodness, and the consequent perfectibility of human nature. Some, like Shelley, think; only abolish all religion, and this inherent goodness of the human heart will realize the millennium. Others disapprove

only of the present religion, and recommend some other ; which, as under the French schools, will generally be found to be some form of Pantheism. But society does not appear to have been captivated, to any great extent, by any of these systems ; the public enthusiasm could not be excited. The Utopias which were held up for public worship, were generally regarded, as impracticable ; and therefore few could be found, who, to try the experiment, would adopt the means by which the proposed end was to be realized. All of these systems, in what they demanded of society, were unnatural. True, they might benefit the poor ; but of the rich they required self-sacrifice ; they required the powerful to surrender their power, and the rich to give up their wealth and social position, so that all possessions should be in common and all men equal ; at least such is the inherent tendency of all these systems, although some of them sought to authorize certain inequalities. All of them, however, must end, in bringing about such a state of equality ; a movement of this kind, once begun, cannot be checked midway. Therefore they have all proved, failures.

But the Utopia which society now worships, requires no such self-sacrifice in order to its realization. It is a much more convenient system ; and is at the same time a religion. Like the theory of Shelley, it demands, that we should give up all our former religious beliefs ; with him, we are to conclude, that religious fear is the mother of all our woes — which perhaps is not without some show of truth ; a principle which, however, even Shelleyism itself, is powerless to combat and to dispel. It requires us to suppress this fear, if that be possible ; to dethrone from our hearts the God of Revelation, and to enthrone in His place either self, humanity, or the Utopia of an indefinite material progress. If we be capable of the supreme egotism of the school of Emerson, we can worship self ; but if not so supremely



egotistic, self-poised, and self-contained, we can adopt for our deity, either humanity, or the Utopia of a future and worldly millennium. The worship of such a trinity is, in fact, that of a unity; the three are but different forms of a Pantheistic unity. To worship either of these objects amounts to self-deification, and to losing sight of the true, living God. It is, therefore, "the changing of the truth of God into a lie, and worshipping and serving the creature rather than the Creator." And since all such lies are of the devil; indirectly, it is a worship of the devil:—a species of idolatry known as devil-worship. The manner of such a worship being exceedingly connatural with the constitutional tendencies of the natural man, is naturally popular. To be religious under such a system, and to worship such a God, requires nothing more, than, to be one's self; to follow one's own constitutional tendencies; and while this is the morality of such a system, it is at the same time its legitimate manner of worship. Thus, in being one's self, we are at the same time moral and religious; we are at the same time doing our duty and serving God. Let, then, the man who loves money, work hard for it; the love of money is not the root of all evil; no! that is an old-fashioned, an exploded notion; on the contrary, wealth is power,—it advances civilization, it hastens on the millennium; work on, then, good and faithful servant, and press with vigor on; a heavenly race demands thy zeal, and an immortal crown. No! covetousness, the mortal enemy of this age, is not idolatry; it is a noble impulse: slave on, then, men of the nineteenth century; sate your covetousness; but know that for all these things God shall bring you into judgment. And the same principle applies to all worldly and material pursuits; inasmuch as they belong to the service of the goddess Utopia, they all are consecrated, and regarded holy. Thus the men who, while incidentally en-

be humble; he becomes proud and self-sufficient; and necessarily so, for such is the character necessary, in order that he may be able to worship, his god. If material progress be the object to which one has devoted all the energies of his life; then evidently, self-reliance and self-sufficiency become a virtue; and therefore it is that this class of idolaters are so eternally harping upon the duty and glorious virtue of self-reliance.

A comparison of the sayings and teachings of the apostles of this new religion with those of the apostles of Christianity, will at once show, how directly antagonistic, the two religions are. Compare Emerson with the Apostle Paul, and observe the contrast. The one exalts, the other pulls down; the one teaches, rely upon yourself; every man is self-sufficient, sufficient for all things; man is God: St. Paul says, "Of mine own self I can do nothing; the life which I now live I live by the faith of the Son of God." "Be clothed with humility," adds St. Peter, "for God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble." And this same contrast is observable in the utterances of all the priests of this religion as compared with those of the apostles of Christianity. Under the one system, pride, egotism, and vanity are applauded, encouraged, and openly advocated as virtues. Under the other, the Christian system, these so-called virtues are to be crucified, as lusts and affections of the mind, and of the flesh. Instead of pride and self-sufficiency, humility and self-distrust are steadily advocated. Of course it is but to be expected, that when man worships his own imagined destiny, he will soon learn to glorify himself. The Pantheism, essentially associated with such a system, must in the end inevitably crop out, and manifest itself. To worship the future of the race; a glorious future, a humanity; is in the end, but to adore self; thus humanity, and consequently, self, becomes God. God is self; which, as such, is

to be adored, glorified, and worshipped. Hence, all those vain, self-glorifying, Pantheistic maxims of this new Hierarchy.

The worship of the goddess Utopia, is not a new thing in the annals of humanity; but up to this time it has never succeeded in actually establishing itself within the consciousness of any age. There have been, previously, various theories, social and religious, enunciated, which proposed to bring in a social millennium. The "Atlantis" of Plato is a theory which proposes such an end: the model republic therein delineated, is the Platonic realization of such an idea. In England, More and Shelley and Robert Owen are the most conspicuous among the apostles of Utopia. In France, a soil fruitful in social theories, there are Babeuf, St. Simon, and Fourier, and lastly Comte, conspicuous as Utopian philosophers. None of these systems has, however, to any extent proved successful. The number of disciples which even the most successful of them has succeeded in enlisting was too small. None of them has succeeded, on any large scale, in becoming formally established. Under all these systems it is laid down as a first principle, that the present miserable condition of human society, is owing to its imperfect and unjust present social organization. Shelley goes still further, and denounces religion—even the Christian—as being responsible, for the present acknowledged miserable state of society. He teaches, that religion is hostile to the development of the "feelings of charity and fraternity;" and, moreover, that "if the inherent goodness of the human heart was but free to work out its mission, the golden age would be realized." All such theorists take for granted the inherent goodness, and the consequent perfectibility of human nature. Some, like Shelley, think; only abolish all religion, and this inherent goodness of the human heart will realize the millennium. Others disapprove

only of the present religion, and recommend some other ; which, as under the French schools, will generally be found to be some form of Pantheism. But society does not appear to have been captivated, to any great extent, by any of these systems ; the public enthusiasm could not be excited. The Utopias which were held up for public worship, were generally regarded, as impracticable ; and therefore few could be found, who, to try the experiment, would adopt the means by which the proposed end was to be realized. All of these systems, in what they demanded of society, were unnatural. True, they might benefit the poor ; but of the rich they required self-sacrifice ; they required the powerful to surrender their power, and the rich to give up their wealth and social position, so that all possessions should be in common and all men equal ; at least such is the inherent tendency of all these systems, although some of them sought to authorize certain inequalities. All of them, however, must end, in bringing about such a state of equality ; a movement of this kind, once begun, cannot be checked midway. Therefore they have all proved, failures.

But the Utopia which society now worships, requires no such self-sacrifice in order to its realization. It is a much more convenient system ; and is at the same time a religion. Like the theory of Shelley, it demands, that we should give up all our former religious beliefs ; with him, we are to conclude, that religious fear is the mother of all our woes — which perhaps is not without some show of truth ; a principle which, however, even Shelleyism itself, is powerless to combat and to dispel. It requires us to suppress this fear, if that be possible ; to dethrone from our hearts the God of Revelation, and to enthrone in His place either self, humanity, or the Utopia of an indefinite material progress. If we be capable of the supreme egotism of the school of Emerson, we can worship self ; but if not so supremely

egotistic, self-poised, and self-contained, we can adopt for our deity, either humanity, or the Utopia of a future and worldly millennium. The worship of such a trinity is, in fact, that of a unity; the three are but different forms of a Pantheistic unity. To worship either of these objects amounts to self-deification, and to losing sight of the true, living God. It is, therefore, "the changing of the truth of God into a lie, and worshipping and serving the creature rather than the Creator." And since all such lies are of the devil; indirectly, it is a worship of the devil.—a species of idolatry known as devil-worship. The manner of such a worship being exceedingly connatural with the constitutional tendencies of the natural man, is naturally popular. To be religious under such a system, and to worship such a God, requires nothing more, than, to be one's self; to follow one's own constitutional tendencies; and while this is the morality of such a system, it is at the same time its legitimate manner of worship. Thus, in being one's self, we are at the same time moral and religious; we are at the same time doing our duty and serving God. Let, then, the man who loves money, work hard for it; the love of money is not the root of all evil; no! that is an old-fashioned, an exploded notion; on the contrary, wealth is power,—it advances civilization, it hastens on the millennium; work on, then, good and faithful servant, and press with vigor on; a heavenly race demands thy zeal, and an immortal crown. No! covetousness, the mortal enemy of this age, is not idolatry; it is a noble impulse: slave on, then, men of the nineteenth century; sate your covetousness; but know that for all these things God shall bring you into judgment. And the same principle applies to all worldly and material pursuits; inasmuch as they belong to the service of the goddess Utopia, they all are consecrated, and regarded holy. Thus the men who, while incidentally en-

gaged in advancing humanity, are at the same time instrumental in brushing away "the cobwebs of superstition;" they verily are worthy of double honor—they are the very apostles and high-priests of Utopianism. At present, this place of honor, the van of civilization, is assigned to the corps of scientists; these, together with certain philosophers, who, like Carlyle and Emerson, boldly, with fell sweep of their infidel besoms—satisfactorily to themselves, and unfortunately, also to many others—seem forever to have brushed away "the cobwebs of old Jewish superstition;" this class of philosophers, together with those scientists who, indirectly at first, but who, every day, more and more boldly endeavor to undermine and overthrow our present religious system,—these form the Hierarchy of this, our modern system of idolatry; these constitute that sacerdotal caste peculiar to the new religion of Utopianism. And this hierarchy promises to be as despotic and tyrannical as any that has preceded it. St. Simon divides society into three classes—the sages, the artists, and the workmen. Comte has some such similar arrangement. St. Simon abolishes the present Church and State organizations, and installs a sacerdotal caste of sages in their place. Thus the sages become the sacerdotal hierarchy, and at the same time the magistracy in the State. What St. Simon could not effect, is already with us, so far as concerns religion, a fact. The sages are now in our society, a sacerdotal caste, constituting the hierarchy of the religion of Utopia. They are now the recognized mediators between the goddess and her worshippers; her recognized oracles—their utterances being received as the very word of truth. The British Royal Society has verily, in these last days, become the school of the prophets.

All religions are, in their final analysis, subject to a certain triplicity of arrangement. First, there is the object

of worship, the God of the religion ; secondly, there is the sacerdotal order, the priesthood ; and, thirdly, there is the people, or worshippers. And so with this Utopianism : first there is Utopia, material progress, humanity, or self—a trinity and yet a unity—the goddess of this new religion ; then there are the infidel philosophers and scientists, who constitute the sacerdotal order and the hierarchy of the society ; and lastly, there are all those who are believers in these priests, and who are enthusiastic in their belief of the speedy advent of human perfectibility. Not, however, after a Christian manner, for these worshippers are widely different from the Christian millenarians ; they believe not in the Christian, but in an essentially worldly and material millennium ; not that it is to be brought about by the advent of Jesus Christ ; but that man, in himself, in the strength of his own self-sufficiency, is to perfect himself, and is to secure for the race a perfect, an enduring, eternal civilization. These are the lay people, the worshippers of the goddess Utopia. So that, as a fact, this organization already exists ; only, as yet, it has not been formally established.

In determining who are the worshippers of material progress, a classification becomes necessary. At present, the whole mass of society would at first sight appear to fall within such a category. The belief in progress, that is, that our present civilization, while it continues to become more perfect, will at the same time extend, and so finally come to include within its pale all mankind : this belief, seems at present to pervade the whole body of our society. But within this generic division there are differing species ; and only one of them constitutes what is properly the worshippers of “material progress.” Thus there are many classes, who, in this respect, appear to symbolize harmoniously, and yet who do in reality widely differ. There are some who believe that civilization is the result of Christianity ; and

who at the same time are persuaded that the Scriptures teach that Christianity is like leaven, which a woman took and hid in a measure of meal, until the whole was leavened; or, that it is like the mustard-seed, which, "although the least of seeds, when it is grown, is the greatest of herbs, spreading abroad that the birds of the air can lodge in it." All this, they understand, as being applicable to civilization; and hence conclude that the Scriptures foretell a final, universal, and enduring civilization. Hence, they are believers in some kind of future millennium which is to be established upon this earth. Thus they can sympathize with all who believe in a future millennium to be on this earth. Nothing more, under such a system, is required, but the continued action of the forces which are now operating within society, and the propagation of Christianity among those nations which are now without its pale. Under this system, it is taken for granted, that civilization—at least, any high and progressive order of it—is the result of Christianity. All the philosophic Christians of the age fall within this class; and perhaps the larger portion of Christian society has imbibed this doctrine. These, however, are not the real worshippers of material progress—although there is, it must be confessed, great danger of their becoming so; for it is very easy to slide from the one position into the other, and the intoxication consequent upon such excessive sanguinity is very apt to degrade and involve such Christians in the element of worldliness. It is not without reason that the Apostles invariably direct the attention of believers to the far beyond. Christ never buoys up his disciples with pictures of success in this world; "in the world," He says, "ye shall have tribulation;" it is those who mourn, who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, that are the blessed. "Watch," He says, "for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come." The attention of the Christian, is, under the



Christian system, invariably directed, towards another economy; to the resurrection of the dead, and to the second coming of Christ to Judgment; "denying ungodliness and worldly lusts," we are commanded "to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, looking for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." Such is the object towards which the Christian is instructed to direct his attention. He is a man of hope, a stranger and sojourner upon this earth; he is to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, to consider the fowls of the air and the lilies of the field, to follow their example; he is to take no thought for the morrow, and is not, like the Gentiles—the formula for an ungodly world—to consume his soul with a carking care for the earthly. He is to be waiting for the second coming of his Lord, anxious for it, that he may by any means attain to the resurrection of the just. If any one ever had the right to draw comfort from a future triumph of Christianity, and that rehabilitation of the earth,—which some seem to expect,—surely St. Paul ought to have been that man. But he it is that tells us, that "in the last days perilous times shall come." All the Apostles, without exception, never allude to such a future as towards a source of comfort; all point steadily to the two great future historic facts, the second coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead. And St. Paul goes so far as to represent the whole creation as groaning and travailing in pain together until now, "waiting for"—what? a consummate civilization? No! "for the redemption of the body;" for this future resurrection, as being "the manifestation of the sons of God." The meaning of all this is plain,—it is to preserve us from this very worldliness and earthliness and sensuality in which the great mass of Christian society is now so immersed; an element which brings Christians into

harmony with those who are in reality infidels, believing neither in a second advent of our Saviour, nor in the resurrection of the dead. Another class of Christians there is, who believe, too, in a future earthly millennium; but who think that the Scriptures teach that this will be brought about in some miraculous way; by the descent of Christ in human form upon the earth — upon Mount Olivet, as it is generally put; that He will establish himself at Jerusalem, and in some wonderful way; through the instrumentality of the Jews, — who are to be then converted to Christianity, — He is to reduce the whole, then existing world to obedience to Him. This system is, necessarily, much involved and obscure; but, inasmuch as it expects a millennium to be on this earth, men being supposed to retain their present physical, moral, and political constitutions, it seems to harmonize with the infidel Utopian system, and causes its advocates to appear to belong to the religion of Utopianism.

These two classes of Christians, both holding to some form of perfectibility to be at some future time realized upon this earth; the one, that it is to be brought about naturally, through the same agencies that are now at work all around us; the other, that this future state is to be brought about through preternatural agencies; both these schools, the natural and supernatural Millenarians — both appear to be in harmony with the infidel school of material progress; they appear to join in the same shout, and are, in fact, in great danger of harmonizing with these idolaters of material progress, and of becoming intoxicated with the enthusiasm of this false religion. Thus, it happens that these Christians, those especially of the first class, find themselves fraternizing with infidels; and yet they know not how and why it is; and when the one shouts progress, they on their own principles cannot but say, Amen. Thus, they find it impracticable, to separate themselves from an infidel society; and are

often found aiding and abetting, in what is in reality, an infidel movement, springing from infidel principles. Not all, then, who would seem to participate in this infidel enthusiasm and movement, are of it; still they are in it, and it is time that they should recognize this fact, and at once come out of it, lest they be consumed with it.

The reason why the Church appears to be going on so smoothly at present is, because in reality, it fails to encounter the spirit of the world. The world does not hate and persecute, because it meets with no opposition. Instead of boldly making a stand, and challenging the spirit of infidelity, rationalism, and worldliness, which is the spirit of this age; the Church, that is, those who represent it and ought to exhibit its spirit, almost universally, so far from opposing it, fraternize with it, flatter it, and, melancholy to say, imbibe it and become one with it. The spirit of the world is essentially antagonistic with, and hostile to, the spirit of Christianity. When we see the two in apparent harmony, there is danger; it is a bad sign; it shows that the Church is succumbing to the world. The spirit of Christianity is absolute devotion; the entire surrender of soul and body to Christ and to God; the worship of the true God in spirit and in truth. The spirit of the world, in man, becomes devotion to some worldly object; it is the worship of the world, an idol; a lie therefore, and so, incidentally, of the devil. "If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." "No man can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon." Such is the dilemma, in which, according to the word of God, man must ever find himself placed. World-worship is in any and every one of its forms inconsistent with the worship of the true God. Such an idolatry may exist at different times under different forms. In the

heathen world it exists as Polytheism ; the patron gods of any people manifesting the direction which such world-worship has taken in that particular case. Under Christianity, world-worship has at different times assumed different phases ; and now in this age, and with us, it manifests itself under the form of material progress, or in the worship of humanity. Thus the age is, in fact, idolatrous, not worshipping the God of Revelation, but a mere phantasm, a lie ; inasmuch as it is not the true and living God ; moreover, as it happens in this age, it is essentially so. The men of this age imagine that by means of education and science they can perpetuate, extend, and perfect their present civilization ; and infatuated with this notion, enthusiastically they worship it, devoting all their energies to its realization. Such a religion and worship, inasmuch as it accords exactly with the constitutional tendencies of the natural man, is convenient and necessarily popular. It allows man to gratify his natural inclinations ; to immerse himself in worldliness, or even sensuality, and to comfort himself with the gratifying assurance that in so doing, he is at the same time serving God ; and to feel and believe that he is one of " God's noble army of workers," according to the cant of the day. Evidently, such a religion is adapted, to the constitution of the natural man. Consistently with such a creed the men of this age imagine that of themselves, in their own strength, they can realize that idea, which they thus worship. But the impossibility of ever realizing such an idea lies ; just in that men do so worship it. It is this very idolatry ; this worship of a lie ; of the creature, rather than the Creator, that renders the realization of this idea a hopeless impossibility. Up to this time lie-worship has proved the bane of humanity ; it is what has ever made civilization a failure ; and it will continue most certainly to have the same effect. Why should it not ? The civilization which is built upon

such a sorry foundation must inevitably sooner, or later, collapse; its foundation is rotten; it carries its death within itself; therefore, it is doomed.

Civilization, is not correctly, the result of Christianity; nor of any other religion. It is a product of human nature considered as a whole; the result of all the forces operating within and upon society, in the direction of man's development. But on the other hand, civilization is vitally connected with religion; it is impossible without some form of religion; and the more truth there is in any religion, the greater the opportunity for the successful realization of any civilization. A perpetual, and ever advancing civilization, is possible, only under certain conditions. These are, that man should give up all idolatry and surrender himself, soul and body, to the worship and service of God as revealed in and by Jesus Christ. Should the whole race ever do this, it is quite supposable, that a civilization thus sustained should continue ever to advance; and so man would find himself every year constantly nearing that perfection which he so fondly craves, and of which the capacities of his nature render him susceptible. The only reason why civilization so invariably fails, is, because man will obstinately persist in idolatry.

The worship, that is, the supreme adhesion of the affections, and the consequent devotion of life's energies to any object other than the true God, which is idolatry, is, as can be philosophically shown, necessarily fatal, to the successful development of the capacities of the race. It is unnatural; the beginning of disorder, which invariably ends in the chaos of confusion, death, and moral desolation. To love the Lord our God as He is revealed to us in the Scriptures, with all the heart and soul and mind, is, while it is the first and greatest commandment, at the same time, the necessary condition of self-preservation. Any conception of

the Deity other than that of Revelation will, inevitably, be one-sided, inadequate, and therefore false. Whenever the deity thus inadequately conceived is worshipped as being the true God, invariably disastrous consequences ensue. Error, thus vital, begets sin; and it reacts, increasing error; until darkness ensues, and all are involved in moral confusion. The salvation of the race depends, then, in the first place, upon light—upon knowing God aright. Thus Christ tells us, “and this is life eternal, to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.” To know the only true God is the first point; and then comes the second, to love Him with all the heart and soul and mind, and to devote the whole life, with all its energies, to his service. To substitute any idea in the place of this revealed one of God, and to supremely love and worship it, is death to humanity. No matter how noble and beautiful and grand such an ideal god may appear in our eyes; as substituted for the only true and living God who is revealed in the Scriptures, such a deity is but a lie; it is not in reality God, but a mere figment of our imaginations—an idol, a lie. Moreover, such a god, in its conception, will inevitably be something that the natural man loves. We will invariably make our gods to suit ourselves. Thus each nation is to be found having its own gods, gods adapted to, and corresponding with, its national characteristics; a principle which lies at the root of Polytheism. And when these objects of worship become impersonated; this constitutes in full, the system of heathen idolatry. These self-concocted gods being lies, are, as we have said, evidently of the devil, who is the father of lies, and as such the great murderer of souls; for the soul which worships a lie is doomed. In worshipping such lies, then, we become devil-worshippers, and are paid the devil’s wages. Alas! then, for our civilization; it must, too, like all others which have

preceded it, pass away. It carries its own death in its bosom; it is doomed to evanescence. True! Christianity could preserve it. The sincere worship of the only true God—who is spirit—in spirit and in truth, would sustain a civilization which would be perpetual. But have we such a religion? The infidelity, corruption, restlessness, injustice, insubordination, every class in society wrangling fiercely for its so-called rights,—the convulsive throes of a disjointed, distracted, rent, torn, and bleeding society, compel us to think otherwise. No! we have not such a religion prevalent in society; nor, therefore, can we have such a civilization. Nor do we expect it ever to be different: there must ever be a world, and a devil to contend against; “there must ever be heresies, that they which are approved may be made manifest.” The tares and the wheat must co-exist even unto the end. Evil is connatural to this world of ours; and conflict and trials and tribulations must continue until the last trump sound and all men shall be summoned to Judgment. “For the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall ever be with the Lord: wherefore comfort one another with these words.”

The kingdom which is to sustain an everlasting civilization has not yet been founded. Certainly the Church has not been such, nor will be; for the tares and the wheat are to co-exist, we are expressly told, until the end. And where the tares and the devil are, there can be no peace or perfection. For the present, the kingdom of God is within us; as yet, it has no outward manifestation. The consciousness of the believer is at present the domain in which that kingdom is in process of construction; which, finally, when

all the elements which are to constitute it have been thoroughly prepared, is to sustain, a civilization ever progressing, never retrograding, and never ending. Such a kingdom, in its full, outward manifestation, belongs not to the present order of things, but to another.

If there be one thing that is more explicitly taught by history than anything else; it is, that every human institution is ephemeral. The Scriptures tell us that "the fashion of this world passeth away;" and some find it so to be. Everything that is human, like the human being himself, carries death in itself. Mortality extends beyond the personal existence; it pervades everything that the sinful creature has anything to do with. "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." Man's mortality is essentially connected with his sinfulness, and the same is true of all his social creations. All human institutions are mortal and ephemeral, because corruption is inherent in them. All that is required is time, which will, in the end, make this inherent corruption apparent. Permit the fact of sin, and death follows as a natural-necessity;—and what is death but disintegration, dissolution, separation, and evanescence. It is in the individual personal being, the natural result of sin; which in its final analysis, is the corruption of human being. The mortality, death, and evanescence of all human institutions, are, the natural result of the same causes; they naturally follow from the corrupt nature of man. To expect anything in this world which is of man,—that any institution or establishment of which man is the author, shall be enduring, is to overlook the most obvious fact in man's present constitution. It is to forget that man is a sinful, fallen creature; to ignore that eternal, inexorable, terrific law, that the wages of sin is death. And moreover, it is flatly to contradict the palpable, unmistakable



teachings both of history and of revelation. That men, in this nineteenth century, can, in the face of all this, manage to convince themselves to the contrary; that they can insanely expect that from henceforth all this is to be reversed; and that these, their even now rotting and dissolving institutions are to last; that such a wild and unreasonable opinion as this has been able to take such a firm hold upon society as it has done, and to pervade it so thoroughly as is now confessedly the case, is, we must say, a standing witness to the incurable fatuity of human nature. It proves the melancholy fact, that man cannot learn wisdom by experience. We had fondly imagined that we of this nineteenth century had outlived the blind enthusiasm of fanaticism; but here, as if to refute us, stands out as an unmistakable fact, the fanaticism of this religion of progress: a fanaticism which can easily be made manifest by applying to it the touchstone of opposition. Like all others, this fanaticism is unreasonable; is therefore impatient under contradiction, unable to brook opposition; it will not be questioned: it seeks to beat down all who oppose themselves to its dogmatic utterances with a clamor of loud vociferation, and with the frequent blows of a violent denunciation. Evidently this is a return upon us of one of those manias, which, epidemic-like, according to some law not yet discovered, are prone periodically to infect society. Thus it was in the case of the Crusade-mania; and again in that horrible mania of witchcraft; and again in that most extraordinary of modern phenomena, the negro-mania: an epidemic which has succeeded in infecting the whole civilized world, has convulsed modern society, and has succeeded finally in overturning and in hopelessly disorganizing a considerable section of the civilized society of this nineteenth century. The society of the Southern States of America — especially their civil governments — presents a spectacle to the world;

and now, in the face of all this, we are encountered by another of these manias — that of Progress. Such are some of the phenomena of social science; and while they are as real, they are just as inexplicable as are the epidemics of medical science.

Clearly, Revelation teaches "that the heavens and the earth which are now . . . . are kept in store reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men." It is evident that "all these things" which now are "shall be dissolved;" that "the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also and the things that are therein, shall be burned up." Nevertheless we, according to the promise, "look for a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness." It is in this future world, wherein dwelleth righteousness, that we are to see that kingdom exhibited, which is to sustain an ever-enduring and progressive civilization. And it will be thus enduring, and not ephemeral as are all civilizations of this economy, just because its cornerstone is righteousness. Then, men shall have done with idolatry; no longer will they in their fatuity persist in worshipping the phantoms of their own imaginations; in worshipping lies and the devil; for it is written, "there shall in no wise enter into that kingdom anything that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie." Which all means, that there shall be no vile idolatry there. There, and then, at last, men shall have learned to worship and serve the true and living God, "for the tabernacle of God is at length with men and He shall dwell with them, and they shall be His people and God Himself shall be with them, and He shall be their God, and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain, for the former things are passed away." Such, accord-

ing to Revelation, is the destiny in store for Godly humanity; and until that time, we need not expect to find anything here that is enduring, except it be, the fatal power of evil. Civilization, to be enduring, must be built upon the foundation of godliness and righteousness. But inasmuch as it is not, but has for its foundation ungodliness, idolatry, and devil-worship, it is folly to expect anything else, but that, like the house built upon the sand, it will some day or other come down upon us, and with a crash. The civilization of the present will, like that of the past, prove evanescent. Glorious forms of civilization have lived before ours of the nineteenth century; have passed away, leaving us nothing but memories and ruins. As it was with them, so too will it be with us. "For all flesh is as grass, and the glory of man as the flower of the grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away. But the word of the Lord," and that alone, in this world, "endureth, and forever."

## CONCLUSION.

**A**T length, after a period of nearly a century, the United States of America is fairly launched upon the ocean of existence. Every nation must have its embryonic, and its immature stages. Nations are individualities, real existences, and must consequently, like individuals, be conceived, then born; must be for a time under pupilage; arrive at maturity, live, suffer, grow old, and then die. One law, perhaps, pervades the Universe—the law of progress. Another parallel law pervades the fallen portion of the Universe—the law of death. Progress is life; life, in this world, finds itself encountered by death. This brings about a conflict. Life seeking its development and realization, necessarily comes into conflict with death, which tends to prevent and to destroy; thus we have fluctuations, retardations, retrogression, and failure; for death in this world is the superior force, and in the end manages to reign supreme. True, there is a resurrection of the body, but not of the body politic.

The United States of America, as a nation, has been born; but has not, as yet, arrived at maturity.

The birth of the nation took place during the late Civil War. Up to that time the Republican idea had not pervaded the entire American mind; up to this period there were existent two views of the American Constitution. The North held to the idea of the Republic, as being at the basis of the Constitution; the South maintained that

of a confederation. State sovereignty was the cry of the South ; national sovereignty that of the North.

For nearly a century these discordant views kept maturing,—often in the general councils of the Government coming into hostile collision,—until at last the time came, the issue was made, the lines drawn, and an appeal was made to arms.

The Northern arms proved victorious ; the Northern idea has therefore triumphed. States rights is now a thing of the past, and out of the struggle has arisen the Republic.

But all is not yet over. The nation, though born, is still struggling through its minority. The idea of States is evidently inconsistent with that of nationality. So long as these lines exist, this people cannot be really a nation. States are not necessary to republicanism ; they are rather in its way,—so many useless limitations,—and must in the end be swept away. The time must come when the *United States* will cease to exist ; there will be no States to be united ; in its place there will stand the great Republic of America—a nationality, a solidarity, one and indivisible : a nation with one head, one body ; its parts all members one of another, and pervaded by one Republican spirit. This is the destiny in store for the American people.

The two principal elements constituting the general idea of civilization, are State and Church. Many are the theories which have been hitherto propounded as to how these elements should be combined in order to working out satisfactorily this general result. The theory of Church and State, in combination, has already been very fully tried, and its result in contributing to the progress of civilization can be viewed in the pages of history. The most notable instance of this combination is to be found in the history of the Roman Church. In fact, the history of middle ages is the history of State and Church acting in combination.

The Reformation was in reality a revolution. Its tendency was to prove the possibility of the separation of those elements which had hitherto been considered as necessarily co-existent and conjunct in order to the progress of civilization. The revolution was, however, incomplete. Spiritual truth was, it is true, detached from co-existing error, and many vital principles were established; but that the revolution was imperfect, is evident from the fact that there was an almost immediate return to those abuses from which it was the main object of society to rid itself, namely, the combination of the secular with the spiritual, thus bringing in the principle of force for the maintenance of truth.

None of the Reformed churches seem to have fully imbibed the idea of a possibility of the distinct separation of Church and State. Germany adhered to this form of civilization. France, from the necessity of the case, the minority of the nation only being Protestant, was unable to make the experiment. England adhered to the original system; and Presbyterianism, in the person of Calvin, in his Jewish theocracy of Geneva, returned to this combination.

In this great Republic of America, we shall have, for the first time, the experiment of the entire separation of Church and State fully tried.

It is the grand object of the spirit of this Republic (we will not say constitution) to allow the full and free play of all those vital forces which go to make up the progress of the human race; and, in conformity with the tenor of this spirit, the whole exercise and development of the citizen's spiritual life, together with the organizations subservient to such development, have been left entirely untrammelled. Here, then, we have, for the first time in the history of Christianity, since its ascendancy over the Roman world in the time of Constantine, a separation of Church and State;

and in the history of this country we are to see what will be the result.

Taking a general survey of the condition of this nation, what are the facts as they present themselves? The general aspect of the religious condition of this portion of Christian society is, to state it candidly, simply chaotic. We have before us simply elements,—atoms, flying off from more ancient civilizations, uncombined, without any regular organization. Out of chaos, cosmos must arise. The religious condition of this country is, then, in a primeval, chaotic state, out of which, in due course of time, a religious cosmos, that is, an organized church, will arise. The nation, as a political organization, has already been born; as a church, it remains to be born. The necessity of this nation is, then, to state it at once, a national church. Is this an impossibility? No more so, than was this republic ninety-six years ago.

The constitutional elements which are to enter into the composition of this new unity, are the various spiritual denominations which already occupy the ground. The problem to be solved, is the same as that which exercised the ingenuity of our ancestors in the formation of that political organization known as the United States of America.

The first step to be taken, as in that formation, is that of confederation; this will be the beginning. And as a political confederation results in a republic, so in the case of the spiritual, will a simple confederation or organized association result finally in the grand unity of a national church; and that, not in combination with State, but wholly distinct; the two standing over against each other, mutually coöperating in the sublime advance of civilization, realizing, to its full extent, the great idea of Republicanism. First, we have the idea realized in State; then in

church; then in combination, forming a new unity, yet in binality. When this is accomplished, then will be manifest in history the meaning of Republicanism.

The difficulties which present themselves against the combination of such discordant elements as are to enter into the composition of a national church, might, at first sight, seem to be insuperable. These elements are, as has been said, the various religious denominations which now occupy the ground.

An examination into the causes which serve to separate these different bodies, the one from the other, at once reduces the subject to one issue. All these causes of difference spring from one source, namely, the true definition of the Christian Church.

There are and can be but two leading theories on this subject; the one is contained in the Roman formula, the other in the Protestant; and when we say Protestant, we have need of qualification, for many of the Protestant denominations, either wittingly or unwittingly, adopt the Roman formula. The Protestant formula, in its full meaning, has not yet been fully developed. True, some of the Protestant denominations have put it into practice; but Romanism, and antiquity, as embodied therein, exert such a powerful influence upon the Protestant mind, that it distrusts its own logical formula, and is forever returning, in theory and in practice, to the Roman. There are, we say, but two theories of the Christian Church; and be it noted once for all, that we refer now to its visible presentation in this world,—to the Church as a visible organization embodying and presenting Christian truth; as an existing ecclesiastical institution. This is the light in which we are regarding the Church. There are but two theories possible: the one, that this outward visible form, this organized Christian society, is, as such, a divine institution; that the



form of the Church is as much the subject of divine revelation as is its spirit; that this form has been explicitly revealed; that just as the Jewish theocracy, being a divine institution, was not subject to change at the hands of man, but was permanent, until God should make the change, so the Christian Church, in its form, is God-instituted, and as such not subject to modification by man. According to this view, the outward form of the Church never changes. Its constitution — a specific, well-defined one — is considered to be the subject of express revelation. To be a Church at all, its constitution must be this one so explicitly revealed. Any Christian society organizing itself under any other constitutional form is, therefore, denounced as schismatic, or as being no church at all, or, as the Roman Catholic Church will have it, is a proper subject for anathema.

The other, or Protestant Church theory, is, in its logical completeness, exactly in opposition to the preceding. According to it, although some form of church constitution is, as in the case of all organized bodies, essential to its existence, yet no *specific* constitutional form is so. The Church, it is held, like any other society, is at liberty to adopt any constitution it pleases. No specific constitutional form, it is held, is the subject expressly of Revelation. Historically, we learn that a certain specific constitution was adopted by the Apostles of our Lord; but this was not an inspired enactment; but was adopted by the Apostles as a system best suited to the times then being. Nor have the Apostles in their writings claimed for this original primitive establishment the sanction of divine right, or any express perpetuity. It is considered that the organization of Christian society, and its whole administration, is left to the discretion of men; and it is supposed in this, as in the case of all other important and vital subjects, men will exercise a sound dis-

cretion ; and that consequently the Christian Church will be found, in all times, exhibiting as much order as any other human institution. Just as society in reference to its civil organization is at liberty to select such a constitutional form of government as it may judge most expedient, a monarchy having no more right to lay claim to Divine sanction, than an aristocratic form of government, or a republic : so with the Church, all constitutional forms are equally divine.

To avoid confusion, in brief, according to both theories, the Christian Church is composed of three elements : its people or members ; its ministry ; and its discipline, or the government of the whole. The one theory holds, that these elements, and the mutual relations that they bear to each other, have been determined once and forever ; the other, that the mutual relation of these elements can, and should be modified according to circumstances.

It is evident that the advocates of these two antagonistic theories can never come to an agreement. In this respect, there is no basis upon which they can possibly meet. The Romanist anathematizes the Protestant ; they are at enmity with each other, and must, in the course of events, come into collision. The Protestants, as we have said, as a body, do not stand up to their formula ; there is a great tendency in several of these bodies, to claim for their several polities a divine right ; few of them, none, we may say, as a body, undertake, however, to anathematize those who differ with them in this respect. Episcopalianism and Presbyterianism, both claim for themselves Scriptural authority for the peculiar form of their church organization. Many, in both of these bodies, we believe, go almost as far as the Romanists. Holding the doctrine, that whatever is not contained in Scripture, is contrary to Scripture ; that their peculiar form is set forth in Scripture, and that those that differ from

them, therefore are opposed to the Scriptural institution ; they deny to many of their Protestant brethren the name of Church and denominate them schismatics, and in so doing go over to the formula of Rome. But the majority in both these sections of Protestantism, simply affirm the Apostolicity of their respective constitutions, without denying to their brethren the name of Church, holding, as is held in the Episcopal denomination, that their form of constitution is historical, and, as they think, best adapted to the preservation of good order. All of the Protestants, then, with the exception of those in some of the denominations who have in reality gone over to the Roman formula, are able to meet on a common basis. They all agree as to the non-essentiality of any one particular constitutional form, in order to the existence of a Christian Church ; and, seeing they can so far agree, they can combine and might possibly adopt some new form under which they all might anew arrange themselves ; that is to say, since all are agreed that the outward form of the Church is not in Revelation specifically defined, but is left to the discretion of men, there can be no objection to a new combination and a reorganization of the now disorganized spiritual society. So far as the form of the Church is concerned, Protestants, who hold logically to their formula — in this respect — stand just where the body politic at the organization of the United States stood. There were, then, just as many seemingly discordant elements in the body politic, as there are now, in the body spiritual ; yet these were all brought together, and combined in a confederation. Just so now, Protestantism can confederate, and in due time come into existence as a national, republican, spiritual institution.

Romanism, on the other hand, is totally unadapted, by reason of its formula, to be a basis for a national church. In its spirit it is exactly opposed to the idea of nationality.

It is cosmopolitan ; its head resides in Rome ; its members are scattered abroad upon the face of the earth ; being unalterable in its form, it is incapable of adapting itself to circumstances. The citizens of the State are the subjects of a foreign prince ; and often have these conflicting claims to allegiance been practically brought into collision.

A system which holds that its form is the divine and the only true one, can never descend to a compromise. There are only two alternatives : either it must conquer, or must perish. Protestantism and Romanism must eventually measure strength with each other ; and this contest will occur most probably in this very country. It is high time then for Protestantism, to heal its internal dissensions, and to organize itself for the conflict. There must be a national church eventually in this republic. If Protestants fail to organize, and to occupy the ground, it will in the end be taken possession of by Romanism. Already the first signs of this struggle are manifest. The Roman Catholics, as a body, are moving to expel the Bible from our schools ; not because they really object to the reading of the Bible in the schools, but because they object to the schools themselves. The Bible in the schools is only the formal cause of war. The objection is, because the schools are not sectarian ; conducted under Roman Catholic influences. Here is the first evidence of that struggle in this country which must eventually take place.

Protestantism, in so far as its formal organization is concerned, has a basis, in common, upon which all denominations can combine, confederate if they will, and, in course of time, form a national Republican church.

Next, then, as to the internal difficulties. Protestantism, as it is well known, arose out of that movement in the sixteenth century known as the Reformation, which was essentially a spiritual movement. The change in organic forms

which this movement necessitated, was incidental rather than intentional. That point which is now made so important in controversy by the Protestant bodies, namely, Church polity or external organization, was at that time regarded as of little moment; traditional sequence, Apostolic succession, and historical unity, were not then, the important points. The statement of spiritual truth in dogmatic form is that to which the Reformers most aspired; in the support of which they wrote, and fought; and even suffered martyrdom. The Church of England, for instance, by no means assumed to ignore the Churchism of the Lutheran and Reformed or Calvinistic churches; and in the Synod of Dort might be found English bishops recognizing and sitting in General Assembly with Calvinistic or Presbyterian divines. The controversy was not then, as it is too often now, about forms; but about vital spiritual truths. The statement, then, of religious doctrinal truth has been, and ever must be, the important point in all the Protestant denominations. Very naturally the Protestant exaggerated, and still continues to exaggerate, this item.

Each Christian body, upon organizing, felt itself called upon to state, in dogmatic form, the subjects of its belief; these doctrinal statements, styled Articles or Confessions of Faith, were at the basis of each of these separate Protestant bodies; and it is to be observed that these doctrinal statements were often very elaborate, entering into minute detail in the statement of abstruse, and much controverted points of doctrine. The differences in doctrinal statement, were then primarily, what distinguished these various bodies. But while it was held important, that these statements should be correct, and each body thought its statements so to be, it was by no means thought that those who differed on these subordinate points, were to be excluded

from church-fellowship. Here, however, we are at the root of that error, which has since proved so disastrous to the unity of the Protestant Church. Charity was sacrificed to logic, and we reap the fruits thereof.

We have, in this country, representatives of these primal Protestant societies. We have the English Church with its episcopacy; Presbyterianism, with its presbytery and synods; Congregationalists, or Independents; Baptists; Methodists; and numerous other minor denominations. As to Church polity, we have already seen that all these bodies have a common ground upon which they can meet. Can a like basis be found in relation to doctrinal statements? Certainly, if each body consider that its statement must be made the rule of every other; and that any departure from, or variance with, its statement, is fatal to the existence of any other society as a church, no such common basis could be found; but this has never been, nor is now, the view of any Protestant denomination, as a whole. Are there not then certain points, in common, recognized by all as vital and essential, around which they would all be willing to meet as a common centre? Were a whole community only Deistic, they would still have certain points in common upon which they could agree. They must all recognize a God, and their responsibility to Him; and also a certain rule of duty. The Christian community differs from a Deistic in this: that it recognizes the God not only of Nature, but also of Revelation; and not only a God, but also His Son, as One with Him, our Saviour Jesus Christ. The characteristic feature of Christianity is, that it recognizes Jesus Christ as the Son of God. It recognizes its obligation to worship and obey Him as God,—to love Him as a Saviour.

Any society that recognizes this fundamental doctrine is Christian; and any two holding to it, can and ought to be

joined together. All the Protestant denominations, with the exception of the Unitarians, who are strictly such, agree in this fundamental doctrine of Christianity. They can, then, upon what is essentially and vitally Christian, have a common basis. The truth is, that all this wrangling over points of doctrine is entirely unnecessary. It arises out of a total misconception of Christianity, and of the mission of the Church. It was never intended that the Church should be a mere bundle of logical, dogmatic, theological fagots. Christ intended that his Church should be his human agent, co-operating with Him, and He through it, in carrying out His Redemptive scheme. The truth which He committed to His Church is not the end, but the means to an end. This truth was to be used for man's redemption, as a means of freeing him from the thralldom of the devil and sin; and, lo! the Church, instead of using it, bundles it up in certain hard dogmatic formulæ; so hard, that few can understand them; and having done this, she considers her work as finished. This is her main object, she says, to bear witness to the truth; which means to draw it out into a Calvinistic, or Arminian, or Socinian system; to present these systems to men, insisting that they must receive them, and that, on the pain of damnation,—alas, what a delusion is this!

Behold, then, the true mission of the Church! To advance Christ's kingdom upon earth; which means, that we are to coöperate with God in the effort to deliver our fellow-men from the bondage of sin and the devil, according to that method which has been revealed by Christ in his Gospel; and that way consists, simply, in receiving Jesus Christ as the Son of God, and as our Lord and Saviour; in relying upon His merits, and in His strength trying to obey His commandments. This is the true mission of the Church, to make known to men, and to press them to adopt

this way of salvation ; and not to damn them for not believing certain difficult and abstract formulas.

Let men but adopt this, which is the true theory of the Church's mission, and all those exaggerated notions as to the necessity of these nice technical dogmatic statements as a basis for the Church, will at once disappear. And then, perhaps, a better and a more charitable and more efficient form of the Christian Church may be established. The sooner men can learn to know that "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid even Jesus Christ," the better. Very naturally, this was a mistake in the Reformers ; but it is unnatural that it should any longer continue to exist. If it does continue, there is no telling into how many atoms Protestantism may finally be resolved. There are now one hundred and forty-six denominations, it is said, in England ; perhaps, there are even more in this country.

The Roman Church separates itself from the body of Protestantism, primarily, on the ground of form ; the Unitarians, on the score of essential doctrinal differences. Strictly, Unitarianism cannot be said to be Christianity, for it denies the Head, *i. e.* Christ. It departs, therefore, from the Christian scheme of Redemption, and assails the kingdom of evil according to its own plan. This leaves us, however, the great mass of Protestantism, fully capable, on its own principle, of forming a union on a common basis.

Each of the Protestant bodies, as they now exist among us, has its peculiar form of organization and its confession of faith. They all agree in the non-necessity of the continuance of any present existing form ; that is to say, they allow that any existing form of Church organization can be altered without interfering with the existence of that church ; they agree, moreover, in the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, recognizing their mutual obligation to the same common Lord and Master ; they are all mutually



interested in one common cause ; all have the same end in view, namely, the advance of the kingdom of Christ in this world ; and they allow, that on subordinate points of Christian doctrine, the opinions of men must ever differ, and, therefore, it is unbecoming to dogmatize harshly about them.

Under these circumstances, it is then possible for the various Christian societies to meet together for deliberation ; and to secure a more vital union. Just as in the body politic, when there is one aim in view, such as to promote the general welfare, and to secure, by combination, strength and protection against enemies, the citizens of the country meet together and organize themselves, forming a government : so the Christian societies can now act. First, with their integral parts complete, they can intrust with certain powers a central government ; then, as soon as such government has gone into actual operation, they will gradually sink their respective individualities, becoming merged into one new unity, the general government of which will extend to, and penetrate the body at large. In fine, let the Protestant bodies, as they now are, institute a central government, and become a spiritual confederacy—a church consisting of united States. Then, in due time, let them, or rather history will itself effect it, cease to be States or confederates, and become a united, national, republican Church. Let them all surrender their present charters, and take out new ones from this new national creation. Apply, in fact, the idea of Republicanism to the Protestant Church ; let it work itself out, just as it has done in the body politic ; and in due time you will have as the result, what we so much need and what we must have, — a national Church.

The recognition of the necessity for such an organization is rapidly forcing itself upon the public mind. The Church, has ever been, and must continue to be, a most important

element in the progress of civilization; its influence, if arrayed in antagonism to that of the State, will inevitably prove formidable. The power of the Church is, we cannot but think, greater than that of any body politic; and the State which disregards this important element to its successful management, is guilty of unwarrantable negligence. It is not, however, in this country, the State, so much, as the citizen of the State, who should observe this fact. In a republic, the citizens are the State; and these citizens, too, as men, must constitute the Church. Since, then, the influence of the spiritual is more powerful than that of the secular, it follows, that that branch of the Church which is most numerous, must, in the State, exercise supreme authority; it will, in fact, rule the State, making it instrumental in carrying out its designs. It is all-important, then, that spiritual power, in this country, should rest with those who, in the State, will use their power in the cause of freedom, rather than in that of bigotry and spiritual tyranny. The time must come in the history of this country, when questions will arise, to some extent, involving religious issues. It is then, that Church party lines will first conspicuously appear; and the country may then see what she is to expect. Let the preponderance of power but reside in a national Protestant Church, and the Republic is safe. The spirit of Protestantism and that of Republicanism is the same; they both love liberty and hate tyranny; the Church and State must work together, therefore, and mutually strengthen each other. But unless this be so, if Protestantism be allowed to remain in its present disorganized condition, internal dissensions must necessarily estrange those who ought to be united; and the balance of power will inevitably pass into the hands of that organization which remains, as in the case of Romanism, united; and whose principles are inconsistent with those of Republicanism.

It is folly to expect, we say, that this our country will escape those distractions arising from religious causes which have ever existed in all other Christian countries. The religious equilibrium of this country has not yet been established. Already we have within us elements of discord, which will, in the end, result in bringing about conflict. Some specific church organization must, in the end, hold supreme power. The only question is, whether it shall be Romanism or Protestantism. And, with Protestantism disorganized, it is but likely, to say the least of it, that the balance of power will fall into the hands of Romanism. A national Protestant Church is then an absolute necessity. If our Republic is to continue to exist; if we are to continue to have free institutions, free schools, free press, freedom of religious opinion; if we are to have freedom at all, a national Republican Church must arise.

No statesman of any reputation can fail to recognize the importance of the religious element in a nation's civilization. Without some religious cultus, no nation can continue long to exist. The ancients uniformly recognized this fact. The Greeks and the Romans had a national religion, and its accompanying cultus. Napoleon Bonaparte, on assuming the reins of government, recognizing the necessity of a religion, in order to the establishment of government, at once reintroduced, and reëstablished, the but lately discarded form of religion. Even the authors of the French Revolution, practical atheists as they were, in many cases philosophically so, recognizing the necessity of some obligation loftier than any that humanity could impose, resorted first to the deification of an abstract principle; and then, at the instance of Robespierre, to the formal establishment of a species of Deism, as the national religion. If, then, religion be such an important element in the continuance of an orderly society; if it be necessary for the continuance

of government itself, certainly it is unbecoming a citizen and a statesman to neglect giving this subject its proper attention. The error in all former times was, in the States as such, assuming the direct control of the religious element; thus combining Church and State together. In the case of this country, the two elements are to be separated to be again recombined; but not in a form of civil government, but rather in the person of each individual citizen. The citizen is the State, and as man, he is the Church; he rules in the one case through his representative, in the other case through his ministers. Every citizen, in a republic, necessarily, occupies, the position of statesman. It is his duty carefully to attend to the affairs on the one hand of the State, and, on the other hand, to those of the Church; and the one is just as important as the other.

The people of this country do recognize their obligation, so far as concerns the State; but they have not, as yet, felt the importance of a due regulation of religious influences in their government. If, argues the citizen, every man is necessarily, an element, in the governing body, it is all-important that, as such, he should be intelligent. It is then the duty of the State, or the citizens in organization, mutually to educate each other. This principle lies at the basis of the common-school system of this Republic. But the argument should be extended. If the citizen should be intelligent, it is just as necessary that he should be good. Intelligence, without a corresponding moral and religious development, is simply power; and, perhaps, rather for evil than for good. The moral and religious culture of the people is then just as much a duty devolving upon the citizen as is their intellectual culture. This duty, it is true, does not immediately devolve upon the State, but it does upon the citizen of the State; and the people of this country will inevitably some day or other feel the force of this truth.

The only question, then, is, how practically to carry out, practically to fulfil this duty ; how is the moral and religious culture of this people, at large, to be effected? Up to this time, it has been left, to those various denominational bodies which occupy this country, and, as all must confess, has been very inadequately performed; and, besides, each of these bodies, is now engaged, in the struggle for power; each endeavoring to imbue the public mind with its own peculiar views; and, in some cases, the views sought to be inculcated are contrary to the principles of Republicanism. This, in itself, generates an unhealthy tone in the public mind, and prepares the way for distracting conflicts in the future. It is time that the citizens of the Republic should observe these things; and should make some effort to organize and so to establish some uniform basis of moral and religious instruction. A national Church is, we think, the only remedy which can be applied; and in a people like this, so strongly imbued with the idea of logical consistency,—a people whose very genius is combination, coöperation, and unity,—it cannot be long before this discrepancy between the religious and the civil status of this country will force itself upon the public attention; and the result, no doubt, will be the application of the Republican idea to the religious element, which will, in its finality, result in the organization of a national Church, organized according to Republican principles; separate from the State, yet united to it in the person of the citizen; who, in his person, exercises the functions both of civil legislator and of churchman; and thus, in the end, will we have before us, fully realized, the idea, of the Christian Republic.





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